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Archæological Survey of India.

REPORT No. 2787

OF

TOURS IN THE CENTRAL DOAB AND GORAKHPUR

IN

1874-75 AND 1875-76.

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF

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VOLUME XII.

"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs and by copies of inscriptions of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them."—LORD CANNING.

"What the learned would demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally."—JAMES PRINSEP.

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the present volume Mr. Carlleyle has described the results of two years' tours in the central portion of the Gangetic Doab, and in the Gorakhpur district, in both of which he made some important and very interesting discoveries. In the Doab he examined the great mound of Indor Khera, 8 miles to the south-south-west of Anupshahr on the Ganges, where he found a copper-plate inscription of the great King Skanda Gupta, dated in the year 146 of the Gupta era. He was fortunate also in discovering the curious old fort of Sânkara on the Budh Gangâ, and other places in the same neighbourhood, which seem to be well worth excavation.

But Mr. Carlleyle's most valuable work was the discovery of the site of the famous town of Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Sâkya Buddha, which was for many centuries the most venerated of all the holy places of Buddhism. At the present day it is only an insignificant village, but its lake is still there, as well as the little river Rowai or Rohini, and numerous old sites, some of whose names still remain unchanged, to attest the correctness of the identification of the old city. Of these the most prominent are the *Sar-kuïa*, or "Arrow well," and the *Hâthi-gadhe* or "Elephant Pit." The former is the *Sara-kupa* of Sanskrit, or the "Arrow spring," which marks the spot where Prince Siddhârtha's arrows fell, when he was contending in archery with his kinsmen and the neighbouring Princes. The latter is the *Hasti-gartta* of Sanskrit, or the "Elephant Hole," where the elephant, which was killed by

Devadatta to obstruct the road into the city, was pitched by Prince Siddhârtha.

Both of these spots are mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the same names, *Sara-kupa* (Source de la Fleche) and *Hasti-gartta* [la Fosse de l'Elephant], which have remained unchanged to the present day.

Shortly after Mr. Carlleyle's discovery I visited Bhuila Tâl myself, and examined many of the localities mentioned in this Report. I saw the *Sur-kuïa*, or "Arrow well," the *Hâthi-gadhe*, or "Elephant Pit;" the *Lumbini*-garden where Prince *Siddhârtha* was born, and the site of Koli, the birth-place of Mâyâ Devi, the Prince's mother. I also paid a visit to Koron-dih, the supposed site of Râma-grâma, and to other places in the neighbourhood. The result of my examination was the most perfect conviction of the accuracy of Mr. Carlleyle's identification of Bhuila Tâl with the site of Kapila-vastu, the famous birth-place of Sâkya Muni.

I am also satisfied that the sites of the birth-places of the two previous Buddhas, Kraku-chanda and Kanaka, have been correctly identified.

At p. 26 the text of an inscription on the Jâmi Masjid at Sambhal is given without any translation. I have since found the following rendering by Blochmann (see Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal,) Proceedings for May 1873, p. 98.

"1. The collector of buildings of grace and beauty, the raiser of the standards of rule and faith.

2. The spreader of the wings of peace and tranquillity, the builder of the buildings of knowledge and deed.

3. Muhammad Bâbar, Jam in dignity, may God Almighty have him in His keeping!

4. Kindled in India the lamp of power, when a ray of it fell upon Sambhal.

5. To build this mosque, may it be protected against destruction and decay.

6. He gave orders to his mean slave, who is one of his principal officers

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7. Mir Hindu Beg, the intelligent and wise, who is an example to others in polite manners.
8. And when, in consequence of the order of the sovereign of the world, by the guidance of Providence, the mosque was completed.
9. Its date was "the first day of the month of Rabi" I (A.H. 933, or 6th December 1526 A.D.)

A. CUNNINGHAM.

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

REPORT OF TOURS IN THE CENTRAL DOAB AND GORAKPUR IN 1874-75 & 1875-76.

1.—LÂKHANÛ, OR LÂKHNÔ.

Lâkhanû, or *Lâkhnô*, is a very ancient place, situated about 6 miles to the south-east of Hâtras, and about 11 miles to the north-west of Jalesar.

Lâkhanû is one of the most curious, queerly antiquated-looking, compactly boxed up, little old places, that I have ever seen. It is, in fact, in two separate square portions, one larger than the other, which are like two high square boxes of hard yellow clay, planted on the ground, and with houses on their tops, half hidden within a raised upper rim. In other words, the small old town of *Lâkhanû* consists of two separate parts, namely, 1, the old town proper, situated on a square-shaped artificial elevation, surrounded by hard clay walls, with round clay bastions at the corners, inclosing an elevated square area, filled with houses, which are inhabited by the cultivators, banyas, and commoner people; and 2, a second, lesser elevated, square, straight-sided, inclosure, also surrounded by high clay walls, but without any bastions, which contains the conspicuous red-coloured, brick, and white-topped, palatial residence of the zamindar (called "Raja") of the place, and his family, and the houses of his servants and attendants. This second elevated inclosure is situated about a quarter of a mile to the north of the former.

Several ancient Buddhist sculptures and other remains were found at Lâkhanu, some of which, I believe, were taken to Aligarh. I was informed by some of the people of the place, on the spot, that most of the sculptures referred to were obtained from a "*tila*," or mound, which is situated about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town of Lâkhanû. This mound is nearly circular at base and of a sort of low conical or dome shape. It measured about 100 feet across from

north to south; and about 80 feet across from east to west. I should judge this mound to be probably the remains of some Buddhist *stûpa*.

There is another lower, somewhat triangular-shaped, flat-topped mound, situated about one-third of a mile to the south-west from the town of Lâkhanû. A road cuts this mound on the north side. The mound measured about 130 feet across, at its greatest length, from east to west; while it measured only about 70 feet across from south to north, where the road cuts it. I do not know whether any excavations have ever been made in it.

Under a tree, near the previously-mentioned circular, round-topped mound, I saw a large statue of *Ganesha* lying, and also some other sculptured stones.

In an old filled up well to the north-west from the town, I saw the sculptured capital of a square pillar. There was also another fragment of sculpture built into the masonry of the side of the old well.

I found nothing more could be done at *Lâkhanû* unless excavations were made, but which I was not then prepared to undertake. I think, however, that it is possible that well-conducted excavations might bring some further antiquities to light.

2.—TUKSÂN.

Tuksân is situated about 5 miles to the *north-west* from *Hâtras*. It consists of an ancient *khera*, a village, and a mud fort built by the Jâts. The old *khera* is situated one quarter of a mile to the south-south-east of the village. It is a large circular, dome-shaped mound, which has a square, flat depression on its summit. It measured 600 feet across from north to south, and 519 feet from east to west. Its height at the highest central part, above the level of the surrounding fields, I found to be one-fifth of its mean breadth. It is the remains of an ancient place, which is said to have been founded by the "*Porchh*," or "*Paurchh*," tribe of Râjputs. The mound is entirely composed of bricks, mixed with pottery and bones, and other remains. This mound would be well worthy of excavation. There are the ruined remains of a square mud fort close to the north side of the village, which was constructed by the *Tenua Jâts*, after Bharatpur. The village now belongs to Raja Tikam Singh, who resides at *Mursân*, and who is a Tenua Jât Chief. The village is small, and is now chiefly inhabited by *Tenua Jâts*.

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There is a very large mud fort, in a ruinous state, at *Sâsni*, which was constructed by the Jâts.

On the edge of the rampart, on the north side, near the traces of a former entrance gateway, there is lying an enormous, solid, flat, octagonal-shaped mass of masonry, which measured 35 feet across.

There is also a very old-looking village, called "*Rehna*," situated on a large, high, artificial mound, half-way between Tuksân and Sâsni.

3.—GOHÂNA KHERA.

Gohâna is situated a short distance to the east of Sâsni, which is on the road between Hâtras and Koel.

The railway passes about 2 miles, or a little more, to the east of the fort of Sâsni; and the road from Sâsni to *Akrabâd* crosses the railway line. About half a mile to the north of the crossing, there is the village of "*Gohâna*" on the right or east side of the railway line, and about half a mile further up the line, on the left or west side, there is the ancient *khera* of "*Gohâna*," which is a large and conspicuous mound. The settlement, of whatever kind, which once occupied the mound, or *khera*, is said to have been founded by *Brahmans*, or priests, of some kind; but, from certain traces which I discovered, it became evident to me that the original founders of the old place must have been *Buddhists*; for I found the head of a *Buddhist* statue with the characteristic *Buddhist* head-dress (in red sand-stone); and also some broken bricks, which, from one of their sides being curved and from their wedge shape, must have belonged to some circular building, such as a *Buddhist stûpa*. The curved side of the brick, which must have been the outer face, I found to be 1 foot in width, and the thickness of the brick 3½ inches; but only 9 inches of the length remained of the most perfect brick I found. At the broken end of the brick it was 10 inches in breadth, so that it had decreased in size 2 inches in a space of 9 inches.[1] I judged that these bricks must have been originally about 1 foot 6 inches in length when perfect.

The original priestly founders of Gohâna were succeeded in time by Rajputs of the "*Bhâl Badi*" Thâkur tribe, who were either *Suryavansis* or *Solankis*. A poor descendant

[1] These measurements would give a circle of only 9 feet in diameter for the stûpa.—*A. Cunningham.*

of these Rajas, now living in the village of *Gohâna*, gave me the following short account of the early history of the *Bhâl Badi* Rajputs.

He said that many hundred years ago there were three brothers, who came from somewhere far north-west, and who founded three kingdoms: one to the west, near *Khurja*, in the neighbourhood of *Delhi;* another at "*Gohâna;*" and a third in *Baiswara;* and he added that in the central kingdom alone, of which *Gohâna* was the capital, they had no less than 37 towns, or fortresses, which are now represented by so many *kheras.* But by the spoliation of the *Jâts*, and by various unfortunate lawsuits, the *Gohâna* family had lost all their property, except a few acres, and a few miserable houses in the village. The present descendant and representative of the *Gohâna Rajas* is an old man and very poor; and I found him dressed in the same scanty and coarse homely clothing as the commonest labourer working in the fields. He had, however, the features and general physiognomy of a thorough *Râjput* of good blood. The name of this present representative of the family is "*Lek Râj;*" and his father's name was "*Sai Râm Thâkur Bhâl.*" *Lek Râj* further informed me that the old village of *Gohâna*, on the east side of the railway line, was always inhabited by the commoner people and cultivators; while the residence of the *Rajas* was on the ancient *khera mound* to the west side of the railway line.

There are the remains of a small mud fort, or *Garhi*, at the village close to the railway line.

The ancient *khera* mound of *Gohâna* is a little over a quarter of a mile distant from the railway line, and to the west side of it. There is a small hamlet, composed of a few mud huts, at the foot of the slope of the east side of the *khera* mound, which, with the mound, is called "*Purâna Gohâna.*" Near the edge of the mound, and in front of the houses above mentioned, I found the site of a very ancient temple, which had been entirely destroyed by the railway people, who pulled down the temple, and took away all its bricks and stones for the use of the railway at the time when the line was being constructed. But as the temple was a long way off from the railway line, and was still used by the people as a place of worship, its destruction by the railway people was totally inexcusable, and was simply an act of wanton destruction. But not only that, for it appeared that there were also, at that time, still some ancient buildings standing on the top of the

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mound, which the railway people also pulled down, and they dug out even the very foundations of them, and took away all the bricks for the use of the railway. Thus, one of the very ancient sites in India may be said to have been entirely rooted out and obliterated by railway contractors! Such vandalism ought surely to be checked in some way; or at least some kind of bound should be set to the vagaries of railway contractors, and certain defined limits beyond which their unprincipled acts should not be allowed to transgress or trespass. I ascertained from the people of the place that the foundation of the old temple, which was destroyed by the railway people, was composed of blocks of kankar, while the body and superstructure of the temple were built of large bricks. The "*Kalsa*" of the *Sikar* of the temple was formed of kankar; and I found the pinnacle of the *Kalsa* lying on the ground. I also found one of the actual bricks of the old temple sticking in the ground and in a pretty nearly perfect condition, besides several other small fragments of the same kind of bricks. Judging by the dimensions of the single nearly perfect brick, the bricks of which the temple was built must have been about 1 foot 4 inches in length, by about 8 to 9 inches in width, and upwards of 3 inches in thickness. A stone *Lingam*, which had belonged to the temple in its latter days, is standing upright in the earth on the bare site. But the most interesting of the very few remnants which I found on the site of the old temple, were two fragments of ancient sculpture in red sandstone. One of these consisted of the base, or rather the lower portion, of a statue of an erect human figure, which retained only the lower parts of the legs; but it appeared evident to me, from certain characteristics observable about much which remained, that it must originally have belonged to a standing figure of *Buddha*, about one-third of life size. The other sculpture consisted of a very perfect head only of a *Buddhist* statue, of a male figure, with the characteristic *Buddhist* head-dress, like that which occurs so frequently on the heads of statues, and of figures in bas-reliefs, of male individual in the *Buddhist* sculptures found at *Mathura*. The head which I found at *Gohâna* was about one-half of life size. I would have liked very much to have taken this head away with me; but I found that the people of the place worshipped it, along with the other fragment of sculpture, as their tutelary divinity, under the name of "*Gohâna*," which might be interpreted, in a *pseudo*-Roman-Catholic sort of sense, as "*Our Lady of*

Gohâna!" I therefore left the head lying where it was, along with the other fragment of sculpture. But I told the people that I hoped they would take great care of these two interesting remnants of sculpture, which they had constituted their tutelary divinity, as I assured them they were very ancient, perhaps as old as the *khera* mound of Gohâna itself. The fact is that the people evidently thought that the two separate fragments of sculpture (which in reality represented the head and the legs of two entirely distinct statues differing in size) had belonged to one single figure of some female divinity. It was utterly useless, and of no avail whatever, to attempt to explain to the people that the "head" was that of a *Buddhist* male figure, while the "legs" had most probably belonged to a smaller statue of *Buddha* himself; for they had never even heard of the existence of *Buddhists* at all, and they were as totally ignorant of what Buddhism meant, as they were of Calvinism or of Quakerism.

I could not find any inscription either about the *khera* or the site of the old temple of *Purâna Gohâna*, as all the available stones had been taken away by the railway people, but on a very small piece of red sandstone (evidently a fragment of a prepared slab of some kind) I found the remains of just two letters of a decidedly ancient type, which must once have formed part of an inscription.

I made measurements of the great mound of *Gohâna Khera*, and found that it was almost exactly 630 feet across from side to side. It measured 628 feet across from north to south, and a little over 630 feet from east to west.

I calculated the perpendicular height of the summit of the mound to be about 40 feet above the level of the surrounding fields. This would give a horizontal diameter at base of about 620 feet, and a circumference of over 1,900 feet. There is a modern square mud wall enclosure on the summit of the mound, which the people appeared to use for penning up their cattle in at night. Within this enclosure I found the remains of a second small mound, which thus surmounts the great mound like a sort of crest or peak. It is in this small upper mound that most of the wedge-shaped bricks, with outer face of the broad end convexly curved, have been found, and from which I obtained the broken brick which I brought away as a specimen: although I was told that bricks of the same shape were also dug out of other parts of the great mound. I believe the small upper mound on the top to be most probably the remnant of a small

Buddhist *stûpa;* and I think, moreover, that the great mound itself, if it were excavated, would probably be found to contain, in its interior, the remains of an ancient Buddhist *stûpa* of very large dimensions. And, as it is an ascertained fact that smaller *stûpas* have been built on the ruins of larger ones, I shall be justified in suggesting that the remains of a little mound on the top of the great mound of *Gohâna Khera* may very possibly represent the remnant of a later smaller *stûpa,* built on the ruins of a more ancient *stûpa* of very great size. It would also appear, from the result of certain information which I obtained, that other buildings were long afterwards erected on the mound by the *Bhâl Badi* Rajputs; and that they made use of the ancient bricks, which they found lying ready to hand, as their materials. But all remains of such buildings were totally destroyed and removed by the railway people.

Lek Raj, the *Thakur*, assured me that the whole mound was full of old bricks, of large size, which could always be obtained by digging.

4.—BAJERA KHERA.

About 4 miles to the west of Akrabad, on the south side of the Koel road, about 1½ miles to the west of the great bridge over the *Ganges Canal*, there are two small villages close together, or rather two groups of houses which form simply two parts of one village, one of which is called "*Khera*," and the other "*Bajera*."

But the two villages together, in fact, are known under the united name of "*Khera Bajera*." Khera is entirely inhabited by *Brahmans;* while Bajera is inhabited by cultivators, a few *Thakurs* or Rajputs of the *Purir* tribe, and Banyas.

About 330 feet to the west from the village of Bajera, and about 920 feet to the south-west from the Koel and Akrabad road, there is a large, bare *khera* mound of moderate elevation, which is the deserted site of an ancient town, or settlement of some kind. The *khera* mound is full of broken bricks and old pottery. I made a survey of the *khera*, and found its dimensions, or extent, to be 760 feet from north to south, by 800 feet from east to west. The greatest elevation of the *khera*, at the highest point, about the centre, is, I should say, about 35 feet above the level of the surrounding fields.

On the top of the *khera* there is a slightly-elevated, rectangular-shaped area, of which the north-western corner is

exactly on the centre of the *khera* mound, and which is composed of the brick foundations of some former building, which has been totally razed and destroyed. This rectangular area measured about 135 feet in length from north-north-west to south-south-east, and 72 feet across the other way.

On the northern edge of the great *khera*, and adjoining it, there is a small, somewhat circular-shaped, round-topped mound, which measured about 112 feet across from north to south, by 107 feet from east to west. I made an excavation right across the centre of the mound, and came upon the foundations of an ancient building, composed of large bricks, at a depth of about 3 feet beneath the surface. The form of this foundation wall was something like an irregular, comma-shaped, half-moon, with a broad head towards the north, which measured 5 feet 10 inches across, and with a narrow tail end towards the south, which measured only from 1 foot to 1 foot 9 inches, and 2 feet, across, and an angular projection, near the middle, inwardly, on the west side (giving the curved wall the form of a badly-made figure "3"), which made the wall there 3 feet 8 inches in width. What remained of the elevation of the wall was only from 2 feet to 3 feet 6 inches in height; and the whole extent of the wall, in its curved length, from north to south, was about 20 feet.

From the northern end of this irregular-shaped curved wall, another narrower, straight wall, about 1 foot 10 inches in thickness, ran in a north-westerly direction, for a distance of about 10 feet. The bricks of this old foundation were decidedly ancient, and of a large size; and they measured 1 foot and ½ an inch in length, by 9 inches in width, and 2¼ inches in thickness. I also dug up a long, squared, carved block of kankar stone, which had evidently once formed the architrave of some doorway.

The inhabitants of Khera-Bajera were not able to afford me any information as to who were the real, original founders of the ancient place, which had long ago occupied the site on the *khera* mound. All they could tell me was that they knew that it was a very ancient place. But the present principal Thakur, or zamindar of the village of Bajera, whose name is "Raja Ram," and who is a *Purir* Rajput, informed me that the ancestors of the family, along with the rest of the *Purir* tribe of Rajputs, came from the neighbourhood of *Hardwar*, about a thousand years ago, and settled in the tract of country which lies between Koel and Sikandra Rao.

The Chief, or Raja, of the whole *Purir* tribe resides at *Bijagarh,* about 6 miles to the south from Akrabad and Bajera; and there are *Purirs* also at *Sahegarh,* or *Saigarh,"* about 6 miles to the north-east from Akrabad.[1] Thakur Raja Ram also further informed me that the name of the first of his ancestors was "*Randhir,*" and that when his family first settled in the neighbourhood of *Bajera*, they found the old khera mound a deserted site then, and that he had heard that it was then in much the same condition that it is now; and that his ancestors had at first built a residence for themselves on the top of the old *khera* mound, but which having been destroyed during some war (probably by the Muhammadans), they eventually removed into the village of *Bajera*.

As, therefore, the actual old *khera* mound itself has been in much the same condition that it is now, for at least a thousand years, and had perhaps been so for some time even before that, it is evident that it must be the site of some very ancient place, indeed!

A short distance to the south-west from the *khera* mound and in the middle of the fields, I found the traces of an old temple, of small size, which I was told had once existed there. But all that remained of it consisted only of a few squared blocks of kankar, and a very small fragment of sculpture.

5.—SAHEGARH KHERA AND NAGARIA KHERA.

Saigarh, or *Sahegarh*, is situated about 2 miles to the south-east of Koriaganj, and about 6 miles to the north-east from Akrabad, but as one has to go round by way of Koriaganj in order to reach Sahegarh, it makes the total journey from Akrabad about 12 miles.

Both Sahegarh and Koriaganj are said to have been founded by the *Purir* Rajputs; but close to the village of Sahegarh there is a very ancient and extensive deserted site, or *khera,* which is called "*Sahegarh Khera,*" and which is said to have been founded in very ancient times by a race of people who long preceded the *Purirs.* The people who founded the ancient town which long ago stood on the now bare and deserted *khera*, were spoken of as having been priests, or Brahmans, and a race called "*Pilus*" by the inhabitants of the present village of Sahegarh.

[1] Purir, and also Pundir, is a common appellation for descendants of the Pândavas.—*A. Cunningham.*

At the village, there are the remains of a small *garhi*, or mud fort, and traces of some small mounds between the mud fort and the village. The people said that the site of the present village and mud fort of Sahegarh was, in ancient times, possessed by a race or tribe of people called "*Pilu*," or "*Piru;*" and that in later times the mud fort was occupied by the *Purir* Rajas, while the great *khera* was originally founded and inhabited by priests, or Brahmans; but I suspect that these priests may have been *Buddhist* monks; and I suspect that the so-called "*Pilus*" may have been the real founders of "*Piloshana*" further south.[1]

The ancient *khera* is situated about 1,350 feet to the south-east from the small *garhi*, or mud fort, and about 2,120 feet to the south-south-east from the village of Sahegarh. The *khera* itself measured about 100 feet in length from north-east to south, and about 530 feet across from north-west to south-east. The highest part is towards the west, where it cannot be less than 60 feet in height above the level of the surrounding fields. Towards its eastern end the *khera* is lower. It is cut through across near the middle by a road, which goes in a south-easterly direction to a place called "*Chanpr*." The whole *khera* is full of ancient bricks and pottery. I got some fine specimens of old pottery at a depth of about 6 to 7 feet below the surface, in an excavation which I made. The bricks are large, and nearly about the same size as those which I got in the excavations I made at *Bajera Khera*. These large bricks are a certain sign of the antiquity of the place.

The people told me that both on the ancient *khera* and also about the old mud fort near the village, old coins are found in great numbers during the rains. They said that many hundreds, and even thousands, of copper, silver, and even gold coins, have been found at once during the rainy season, and in some excavations which were made by the *zamindars* of the village. They showed me a few specimens of the kind of coins which were found, and they pointed out those among them which were found in the greatest number; and those proved to be *Indo-Scythic* coins of the "*Kanerki*" and "*Oerki*" (or *Kanishka* and *Huvishka*) type. The *rest* consisted of two or three Dehli "*Bull and Horseman*" coins and several common Muhammadan coins of the Pathan and

[1] I have now identified *Pi-lo-shan-na* with the ancient town of *Bilsanda*, which possesses two inscribed pillars of Kumâra Gupta.—*A. Cunningham.*

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Mogal dynasties. I could only induce them to sell me three of the *Indo-Scythic* coins, which were copper, and considerably defaced. But the mere fact that *Indo-Scythic* coins are actually found in considerable numbers at *Sahegarh* during the rains, is a decided and unmistakeable proof of the great antiquity of the place. Strange to say, however, the people said that most of the coins of the *Indo-Scythic* type were found about the old *garhi*, or mud fort, where the bricks are of a much smaller size than on the *khera*. I believe, therefore, that the mud fort must have been built on an already previously ancient site. One man had two ancient silver coins, but he would not sell them to me.

The old *Garhi*, or mud fort, I found to be only 110 feet from south-east to north-west, by 105 feet from north-east to south-west, or nearly a square. At the distance of 45 feet to the south-east there are the remains of the lower portion of a composite pillar, built of moulded curved bricks, with such exceedingly strong mortar that the whole mass is almost as hard as stone. The ground-plan of this pillar is that of a square in the midst of four circles, one at each corner of the square, and the corners of the square cutting into the circles for about one-half their diameter; or the form of the pillar might perhaps be better described as four circular shafts inclosing a square. The present height of what remains is only 2 feet 6 inches, and its diameter 2 feet 4 inches. The circular shafts at the corners are each 1 foot 1 inch in diameter across, in a direction diagonal to the square central core of the pillar, or rather in a direction parallel to one of the diagonals, and at right angles to the other diagonal of the square; but the circular shafts only project 7 inches beyond the corners of the square. These circular shafts contract to a narrow neck, 10 inches in diameter near the base. The square centre is 1 foot 4 inches in diameter. The people said that this pillar-base was the solitary remnant of a range of similar pillars which had belonged to an old *Kacheri* building used by the former Rajas; but I think it may more probably have belonged to some palatial building or a temple.

About 180 feet to the north-west from the mud fort, there is a small mound 37 feet in diameter; and again at the distance of about 70 feet to the north-north-east by north from the fort, there is another small mound, 20 feet in diameter. In the same direction, 100 feet beyond the last-named mound, and 170 feet from the mud fort, there is an

ancient well. It is between the mud fort and this well that so many ancient coins have been found. I made some excavations there, and found the remains of an ancient wall.

About 245 feet to the north of the *khera*, and between it and the village, a spot was pointed out, where a very ancient well once existed, which is now completely filled up by earth, and there is a Peepul tree now growing on the top of it. An inscription is said to have formerly existed in this well, and the roots of the Peepul tree are said to have covered the stone. I cleared out part of the mouth of the old well, but the tough and tangled roots of the Peepul tree prevented me from going any further.

About a mile to the west of Sahegarh, there is another ancient site, or *khera*, on flat ground, now turned into fields, called "*Nagaria*," or "*Nagariâ*" *Khera*. There is a small indigo factory near it. Nagaria village in fact forms a continuation of Sahegarh; but the site of the old *khera* is out in the fields to the west, beyond a small indigo factory. On the now cultivated site of this old *khera*, a few very ancient bricks, of an enormous size, have been turned up by the plough. I got one of these bricks, which was 5 inches in thickness, 1 foot 2 inches in length, and 10½ inches in breadth. There was the mark of four fingers scored along the surface of one of the faces of the brick. Such a thickness as 5 inches is something enormous for a brick in India.

Sahegarh and Koriaganj are said to have been held, for some time, by a Muhammadan Nawab from Oudh, whom the people called "*Ghaus Khan*," or Muhammad Ghaus Khan.

I think that *Sahegarh, Khera*, and *Nagaria Khera* would be well worthy of further exploration in the way of excavation.

6.—QASBAH JALÂLI AND NILAUTI.

Jalâli is situated about 11 miles to the east from Koel. The present town is said to have been founded about seven hundred years ago by the Pathans, near the ruins of an ancient Hindu town called "*Nilauti*," which was totally destroyed and razed to the ground by the Muhammadans, and they seem also to have almost exterminated the Hindu inhabitants, as no memory now remains of who founded the former ancient Hindu town of *Nilauti*. The Muhammadan zamindar of the place, *Sayad Wasat Ali*, said himself that the Muhammadans had killed all the Hindus when they took the place.

Nothing now remains of the old Hindu site, except a bare *khera* mound, through the middle of which a branch of the Ganges Canal is cut, about a quarter of a *mile* to the west of the town of Jalali. On the right, or east half, of the old mound, cut through by the branch canal, the Muhammadan *Karbala* is now situated, and also an old Muhammadan tomb, with a long inscription on the head-stone. Very ancient Hindu bricks, of a very large size, are, however, still dug out of the ground at the mound. One of these ancient bricks measured 1 foot 3 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth, and 2½ inches in thickness.

There is also another ancient Hindu site situated near Jalali, namely, "*Kitkhari khera*," which lies about a mile and a half to the north-west from *Jalali*. This old *khera* mound lies about half a mile or less to the south-west of the village of *Kitkhari*. A great portion of the original old *khera* has been gradually ploughed up into fields, but the mound which remains measured about 550 feet from north to south by about 450 feet from east to west. But as the fields round about it are covered with fragments of old pottery and broken bricks, I should estimate the original extent of the old *khera* to have been about 600 feet across, from side to side. Very large ancient bricks are dug up on this old site, of about the same size as the bricks I obtained from *Nilauti Khera*, close to Jalali.

It would appear that the first Muhammadans who made their appearance in the neighbourhood of this place, were some of the *Ghaznivides*, probably Mahmûd of *Ghazni* (?). As the Muhammadan zamindar of Jalali assured me that the old Hindu town of *Nilauti* was destroyed fully seven hundred years ago, if not more, it could not have been later than about A.D. 1173, or say 1170, which would be about twenty years previous to the taking of Delhi by the Muhammadans; and therefore the old Hindu town, which stood near Jalali, must have been destroyed in one of the earlier Muhammadan invasions.

There are three *masjids* in the town of Jalali, besides numerous ruined tombs, and the ruins of some small *masjids*, scattered here and there, outside the town or in the fields. They are all built of brick. The style of all of the oldest of the ruined Muhammadan buildings is decidedly early *Pathan*. The ruined Muhammadan mausoleums, or *dargahs*, and the small *masjids* attached to the old Muhammadan *burying* ground, have pillar-like shafts, or small minarets, attached

to the corners of them, which are almost invariably surmounted by globular pinnacles, or capitals, or finials, in the *old Pathan* style; and wherever any of these old buildings is surmounted by a dome, it is always in the low and heavy early Pathan style; but there are very few domes to any of the older ruined Muhammadan buildings.

The largest mosque in Jalali is built of brick faced with plaster. The mosque is now ornamented by two domes, of a somewhat globular inverted pear shape, with thick, short, circular necks; but between these two domes there is the flat circular base of a third central dome, which was probably never built, although the *Kadim* of the mosque said it fell down, or was destroyed; but I do not believe it, as the upper surface of the circular base is not in a broken or ruinous state at all, but presents a perfectly even surface. At each of the front corners of the mosque, and forming part of the building, there are square-sided shafts, or minarets, which rise above the mosque to a very little above the level of the tops of the domes. These square shafts are fluted vertically and their tops spread out. There are also two smaller broken shafts of the same kind at the back corners of the mosque. The mosque itself is entered by three arches, and it is divided into three compartments interiorly, with side arches between. There is no other ornamentation about the mosque, except some devices in red paint on the plaster of the front of the mosque. There are, however, three inscriptions on slabs of stone on the front of the mosque, namely, one over each arch. There is a small inscription over the right-hand arch, a large inscription over the central arch, and a still larger inscription over the left-hand arch. There is also an inscription on the niche, or apse, of the *kibla*.

This mosque is said by the people to have been originally founded about seven hundred years ago by some Muhammadan prince, whom the people called "*Rasuldin*." It was repaired and renewed about four hundred years ago, in the time of the later Pathans; and it was again repaired and renewed abount two hundred and fifty years ago by a Nawab called "*Shamaz*," or, "*Tamuz Khan*," in the time of Jahangir.

There is another smaller and more modern mosque in Jalali, called the "*Imambara*," in which the Muhammadan *Tazia* is kept for the *Moharram*.

There is also a third very small, and apparently modern, mosque in the town.

The Muhammadan zamindars of Jalali are said to be descendants of the old Nawabs of Farrukhabad.

Wasat Ali, the present zamindar of Jalali, is a Saiyad. His father's name was *Khurshaid Ali.* The present zamindar is now an old man, and from some documents which he gave me to read, it appeared that he had rendered very faithful and important services to the Government during the mutiny of 1857 to 1858, at which time he was acquainted with Mr. Campbell, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It seemed also that Wasat Ali had not been sufficiently rewarded for the important services which he then rendered to Government, and that he felt this to be the case himself.

7.—SÂNKARA.

Sânkara is a very ancient site, situated on the right or west bank of the *Budha Ganga*, 13 miles to the south-east from Ram Ghat, 20 miles due east from Atraoli (or Atrowlee), 32 miles due west from Badaon, about 11 miles west-south-west from Saheswan, 14 miles north-west from Soron, and 16 miles north-north-west from Khas Ganj.

According to the local traditions of the place, Sânkara is said to have been founded more than two thousand years ago, by a "Raja" *Ahada*, who was of the *Ahir* tribe, and who may possibly, therefore, have been the same as the Raja "*Ahi*," or "*Adi*," who is said to have founded "*Ahichhatra*" further north, and who was also of the *Ahir* race. Sânkara lies exactly only 41 miles to the south-west from *Ahichhatra* as the crow flies, and it must, therefore, have been included in the kingdom of "*Panchala*," of which Ahichhatra was only the northern capital. This Raja "Adi," or "Ahi," may also, perhaps, have been the same as the traditional "*Ahi Baran*," who is said to have founded "Baran," or Bulandshahar; and I suspect that the name of "Ahar" on the Ganges may possibly also have been derived from the same personage.

Sânkara is an extensive site, which consists, *firstly*, of the remains of an ancient fortress, facing towards the river, which rises to about 75 or 80 feet, in perpendicular height, above the *bank* of the river; and, *secondly*, of an extensive *khera*, or rather of a succession of mounds or ridges which run round the eastern, southern, and western sides of the old fortress, and extend thence for a considerable distance.[1] The whole extent of the site of ancient Sânkara, including

[1] See Plate II for a map of Sânkara.

the old fortress, and the mound and ridges of the old *khera,* may be estimated at about two-thirds of a mile in length from east to west, by about one-third of a mile in breadth from north to south. The whole rises to a very conspicuous height above the surrounding plain country.

The extensive elevated ground of the site of the ancient city of Sânkara must have opposed an important obstacle against the encroachments of the river Ganges, and which I have no doubt was indeed partly one of the causes of the river changing its course from its old to its new bed. The river must, in the first place, have split itself into two channels, as if against a great pier, or breakwater. When in a flooded and fluctuating condition, it came to strike the whole force and volume of its swollen current against the north-western extremity of the elevated ground of the site of the old city. Sânkara must, therefore, at some time, have been occasionally, during floods, like an elevated island, between two branches of the river, until at length, in the course of time, the river gradually subsided into what is called the old Ganges, or *Budh Ganga.* But the force of the turn of the river eastwards against the high ground of Sânkara would gradually send the bed of the river stream still further eastwards, until it left the Sânkara side, and took to the present channel. That such must have been the case, may, I think, indeed almost be proved to a certainty by the fact that the northern or upper point of junction of the old bed of the *Budh Ganga,*" with one of its original divarications towards the present channel of the river Ganges, is near a place called "*Senkri,*" or between "*Senkri*" and a place called "*Jogia Nagla,*" only about 4 miles to the north-west from Sânkara. And a new canal is actually now being cut from the Ganges at Gokalpur, below Ramghât, not far above that very point; thus probably utilising a portion of the advantageous old bed of the river.

Sânkara is thus actually situated near the original point of departure of the new channel from the old one. I therefore believe that the striking of the swollen current of the river, when in a flooded state, against the high lands formed by the extensive elevated mounds of the site of the ancient city of Sânkara, was perhaps the actual primary cause of the river gradually beginning to change its course; for the indurated or hard packed soil of such an old-inhabited and elevated site, mixed throughout with fragments of brick and pottery, would offer a powerful, breakwater-like barrier, against

the fluctuating current of a flooded river, which had overflowed its banks.

The site of ancient Sânkara is now almost deserted; and the present scanty cultivator population of the locality is now confined to two separate groups of mud houses, or small hamlets, one, the larger, constituting a village, and the other, much smaller, and consisting of only a few houses; the former being situated on the eastern, and the latter to the north-western side of the old *khera;* the larger hamlet to the east being the present village of Sânkara proper.

I could not obtain any information as to the intermediate period of the history of Sânkara. In the time of Akbar, Sânkara is said to have been held by one of his sons, and one might perhaps conjecture that it may possibly have been "Dânial." But whichever of Akbar's sons it was, he may perhaps have built somewhat on the site of the old fortress, and may perhaps have constructed new upper works, or defences, but which are now destroyed. At any rate, bricks of a size and shape which evidently belong to the Muhammadan period, are found on the upper surface of the old fortress only, but not in any part of the sides, or lower portions of it. At the side of the ramparts, on one of the outer faces of the fort, where the soil had given way, or been cut away, showing the stratification as in the section cutting, I could clearly distinguish the successive vestiges of three different and distinct periods, or ages, one above the other. First, at the lowest level, I found large, thick, square bricks, of which the few that were perfect measured $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 11 inches square, by from 5 to 6 inches in thickness. Such a thickness as 6 inches is remarkable for a brick of that shape, and these were certainly the most dumpy specimens of ancient bricks which I had ever seen. It is worthy of remark that most of these thick square bricks were marked on one side with a very curious and deeply-indented device, consisting of three regular concentric curved lines, one within the other, forming a figure exactly like a horse-shoe, or the print of a horse's hoof.[1]

The stratum next above, namely, the intermediate, or middle stratum, contained thinner but longer bricks. A perfect specimen of the bricks belonging to this middle, or intermediate stratum, measured upwards of 1 foot long,

[1] These are the usual finger-marks of the brick-maker, made while the brick was still wet. I have found these finger-marks at nearly all the ancient sites that I have visited.—*A. Cunningham.*

by 10 inches in breadth, and from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches in thickness. The uppermost stratum of all contained bricks, some of which measured 10 inches long, by 8 inches in breadth, and 2 inches in thickness (and some rather less), which I consider to have belonged to a late Hindu period, probably just before the Muhammadan conquest of India. Lastly, the surface bricks on the top of the fort were of the usual small Muhammadan size, such as were in use in the times of Akbar and Jahangir.

But I have to mention that below the northern side of the old fort, I found one of the largest bricks that I ever saw. This brick was apparently, in reality, the half of a very ancient Hindu brick of monstrous size. This enormous fragment of brick measured 1 foot 6 inches in breadth, by nearly 6 inches in thickness. The original length of this brick could not be ascertained, as it was broken; but what remained of its length was 1 foot. There were some marks on one side of the brick, which looked like ancient characters, roughly scratched, and which might be read as the name of "Sânkara"!

Towards the northern part of the upper plateau of the old fort, I found the remains of the lower portions of four composite brick pillars, which were built of small bricks, and which had evidently supported some building of the Muhammadan period.

Towards the south-eastern corner of the fort, on a sort of somewhat slightly lower terrace at the outer edge, I found that two very narrow and very deep rectangular-sided pits had been sunk, and which appeared to communicate with one another at bottom by a narrow underground tunnel.

From what I could learn from the people, it would appear that these two narrow, deep pits had been excavated by some native zamindars, in order to get at and kill some porcupines which had their burrow there; and my only reason, therefore, for mentioning these pits here at all is because one of them proved of service to me in my investigations; for I found that one of these pits had been excavated down the outer side of an ancient wall which was sunk within and formed the core of the upper part of the earth-work of the side of the old fortress, which luckily afforded me an opportunity of measuring the depth of the wall at this point; and I found that the wall only extended to the depth of from 14 to 15 feet below the surface of the upper edge of the fort;

and the wall had a mean thickness of about 3 feet to 3 feet 8 inches, where it cropped out at another place.

I found that this buried well was composed of old Hindu bricks of various and irregular sizes, and most of them were broken or imperfect bricks, as if the wall had been built out of more ancient Hindu *debris*. The position of this wall put me very much in mind of General Cunningham's section of the rampart of the old fort at "*Bitha*," in Plate XVII of his Report for 1871-72[1]; only that there did *not* seem to be any "batter" to the buried wall in the earth-work of the old fort of Sânkara, and certainly there was no room for any *faus-sebraie*," or "*raoni*," as the side of the fort descended thence, with a very steep and abrupt slope, down to the bank of the river.

As I stated before, the earth-work of the old Hindu fortress of Sânkara rises, at the *highest* point, to a height of from 70 to 80 feet above the bank of the *Budh Ganga*. At one point, from the top or crest of the steep slope of the side of the fort, down to its foot, on the bank of the river, it measured from 90 to 95 feet. The form of the outline of the upper surface of the fort is an irregular-shaped oval figure, with slight indentations. The greatest breadth of the fort runs backwards from the river from north-west to south-east; the breadth of the fort, in this direction, being about 680 feet; while it presents a comparatively narrow front of only about 450 feet towards the river. On the northernmost part of the upper surface of the fort, there are the remains of a small, square, upper fortification, which measured only about 100 feet each side. Again, near the western edge of the upper surface of the fort, there are the remains of a small low, rectangular earth-work, which measured about 70 feet by 55 feet. Near the centre of the fort, and on the highest part of it, there is a large round brick tower, with steps outside, which was erected by the officers of the Trigonometrical Survey.

There are three large, sloping hollow gaps, which cut down through the edge of the fort, and which represent the positions of three former ancient gateways of the fort. One of these is at an east-north-eastern angle of the fort; another at a south-eastern angle; and the third at a south-western angle of the fort.

The edges of the fort are not raised at all above its inner surface, but the inner upper surface of the fort is a raised, nearly flat plateau, even with the edges, except that

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III.

in the centre the ground is in reality actually higher than at the edges. I have observed this peculiarity of construction in one or two other very ancient Hindu remains of fortresses, which at once distinguishes them from all modern Hindu or Muhammadan forts. The ancient *fort* of *Sânkara* is simply a high, steep-sided, flat-topped earth-work, or a sort of lofty, table-topped plateau of earth-work, which never had any kind of raised rampart whatever along its edges, but seems to have depended principally on height and steepness for means of defence. There may, of course, in ancient times, have been a low brick parapet wall, with bow-shot loop-holes running round upon the upper edge of the fort; but if so, that was all. Now, it is worthy of remark that such a mode of construction differs entirely from all our modern ideas of a fort, and that it would only be well suited for those ancient times when bows, and spears, and swords were the only weapons in use.

On a narrow flat piece of ground below the fort on the north-western side and between the fort and the old river bank, there is a grove of mango trees, and outside of the grove, on the very edge of the old river bank on a low mound, there stands a small, plain, square, middle-aged temple of brick, surmounted by a dome, which contains only a *Lingam*. But I was informed that this temple stands on the site of a former very ancient temple, which was long ago destroyed; and there are still traces of the foundations of some former building, consisting of some hewn blocks of kankar stone, protruding from the ground. And I was told that a native when digging there for some purpose some time ago came suddenly upon an ancient doorway, and that his superstitious fears on this discovery caused him to stop his digging, and prevented him from going any further. Be this as it may, I may mention that, even as far off as Sahegarh, I heard that an ancient temple was buried under ground, near the old river bank at Sânkara. One of the triangular base stones of the Trigonometrical Survey is buried in the ground near this temple.

In a small, dilapidated, shed-like brick building adjoining this temple on the west side, I found a very interesting piece of ancient sculpture in red sandstone, which I brought away with me. This consists of a heavy, solid block of stone, 2 feet 3 inches in height, by 2 feet in breadth, and 1 foot in thickness. This sculpture evidently represents an ancient Hindu wooden house, of massive construction, show-

ing six corners of three successive front projections, one beyond the other, and surmounted by a *chaitya*-shaped roof. In an upper compartment of the front projection, representing a sort of balcony, or window, with pillars at the sides, there are the figures of a man and a woman, apparently wearing Buddhist head-dresses, and which (though considerably weather-worn) closely resemble the small human figures represented on the upper compartments of the Buddhist railing pillars, found in the mounds at Mathura.

About 80 feet to westward of the temple, there is a small round-topped mound, which appeared to be mostly composed of sand, although it contained some fragments of old pottery, &c.; and it may possibly be some old site covered with sand drifted from the old river channel close by.

To the east side of the grove of mango trees, and near the edge of the old river bank, there is a very old well in which I found some ancient bricks, of a large size, of a slightly wedge shape, and concavely hollowed out at the broader end, one of which measured nearly 1 foot 4 inches in length by 8 inches in mean breadth, and 3 inches in thickness.

The present small village of Sânkara is situated on a high ground across a low hollow which divides it from the fort, and about 150 feet distant to the west, from the fort. The village occupies a rising ground (lower than the fort) of about 500 feet in extent each way. But a slightly lower continuation of this rising ground runs towards the south-west for about 38 feet, until it joins another high ground of considerable elevation and extent, which lies immediately to the south of the fort, and which extends for about 600 feet from north to south by about 500 feet from east to west. The whole of these three continuous high grounds, of varying height just described, including that on which the present village stands, are covered with fragments of brick and old pottery, and constitute the site of a portion of the ancient city, which originally partly surrounded the fort on the eastern and southern sides, and which would give a longitudinal extent of about 1,400 feet.

To the west of the last-mentioned high ground, and to south-south-west from the fort, and close to a high road, there is a small circular, round-topped, knoll, or little mound, which measured about 70 feet across, and on which a lot of broken pottery and a few fragments of sculpture and other remains were collected together in a heap. Amongst these I found the following remains—1, a small image of Ganesha;

2, two curious half figures of animals in red burnt terra-cotta, which appeared to represent some non-descript kind of animal, but which most resembled a lion; 3, a small, rude, terra-cotta figure, apparently of Buddha, in a standing posture, about 3½ inches in height, but which had lost the head and shoulders; 4, two fragments of sculpture in stone, which appeared to me evidently to be some small fragments of two separate architraves of a Buddhist gateway. One of these fragments still possessed a trace of the curve of a Buddhist architrave, and it was ornamented with leaf sculpture somewhat resembling the Greek acanthus. The other fragment of sculpture, which is about 8 inches in length by 4 x 6 in thickness, and which I brought away with me, has the representation of four Buddhas, seated in a row, each with the right hand raised. 5, I also found the head of a small statue, apparently Buddhist, in red sandstone.

About 300 feet to the east of the village of Sânkara, there is another high ground, which extends for about 700 feet in an east-south-easterly direction, and which is covered by a dense grove of trees. Along the southern edge of this high ground, there runs a road, which goes to a place called Pirthipur, which lies about 5 miles to the south-east from Sânkara. Immediately to the south-west of the "high ground covered with trees," before mentioned, and on the south side of the road, there is a circular, conical, or dome-shaped mound, which measured about 170 feet across, and which has a flat square depression on the top. I have a strong suspicion that this mound might possibly turn out to be the remains of the *debris* of either a Buddhist *stûpa* or of a temple. Again, about 30 feet further to the north-west, there is another mound, on the top of which there is a farmer's house and out-buildings. These two mounds lie, respectively, at a distance of 250 feet and 400 feet to the south-east from the village of Sânkara.

About 300 feet to the west from the fort of Sânkara, there runs a main road from north to south; and about 1,500 feet to the north from the bank of the Budh Ganga, this road crosses the cutting of the new canal, which comes from near Ram Ghat, and passes along the southern boundary of the site of the ancient city of Sânkara, but cutting off a high isolated mound, to the south-west. The road which crosses the canal, as before mentioned, goes to an old place called "*Nau*," or "*Nai*," which lies about 4 miles to the south from Sânkara.

To the west of this road, and to the north of the canal, and from 400 to 500 feet to the west from the old fort of Sânkara, there is a long range of mounds and ridges and heights, which extend for about 1,100 feet from north to south, with a varying breadth of from 400 or 500 feet to 800 feet from east to west. As fragments of brick and pottery are plentiful everywhere throughout the soil of these high grounds, it is evident that the ancient city of Sânkara formerly extended also in this direction.

About 350 feet to the south-south-west from the southern termination of the high grounds above mentioned, and on the southern side of the canal, there is a high, isolated, somewhat conical-shaped mound on which the ruined walls of a small temple were still standing when I was at Sânkara, but which may very possibly have since then been pulled down by the canal people for the sake of the bricks. As I found a small wedge-shaped brick with one of the sides convexly curved on this mound, and as the mound, generally, had very much the appearance of an old *stûpa* mound, I made some excavations in it, and at the depth of about 3 feet I came upon the remains of an ancient wall, which appeared to run in a somewhat curved direction; but I had not time to pursue my excavations any further.

From the above-mentioned mound, a series of heights, mounds, and ridges run in a somewhat broken succession due westwards for about 2,600 feet to a village called *Haranpur*. These heights evidently once formed an old bank of the *Budh Ganga*. The people told me that there was a tradition current to the effect that the ancient city of Sânkara had once extended all along these heights to *Haranpur*. It may have been so, but what I considered to be the actual site of the ancient city of Sânkara, I found by survey to be about 3,400 feet from east to west, by about 2,000 feet at its greatest breadth from north to south, but generally less.

The old bed of the *Budh Ganga* lies about 1,000 feet to the north from *Haranpur*, and runs thence in an east-north-easterly direction, and then turns due east until it passes close by the northern side of the old fort of Sânkara, from which point the *Budh Ganga* takes a turn in an east-south-easterly direction. It is evident, therefore, that the ancient city and fort of Sânkara occupied a projecting point, round the north-western, northern, and north-eastern sides of which the ancient and original course of the river Ganges, or *Budh Ganga*, turned with a bend about equal to the arc of one-third of a circle.

As Sânkara is beyond all doubt a very ancient site, I would suggest that it might be of advantage to cause some excavations to be made there, more especially about the old fort.

Sânkara now belongs to a Muhammadan zamindar, who is called a Nawab, but who resides at some distance from it. I was told that this Muhammadan zamindar had in his possession an ancient inscription, which was found at Sânkara. I think that very strict inquiries should be made about this inscription, as I have found by experience that Natives are very apt to deny the existence of such things when they find that they are being inquired after.

8.—SAMBHAL.

The old city of Sambhal is situated on the Mahishmat Nadi, in the very heart of Rohilkhand. In the Satyug its name is said to have been "*Sabrit*," or *Sabrat*, and also *Sambhaleswar*. In the Tretâyug it was called Mahadgiri, and in the Dwâpar, Pingala. In the Kaliyug it received its present name of *Sambhala*, or in Sanskrit *Sambhala-grama*. To the south-east of the city is *Surathal Khera*, which was called after Raja *Surathal*, a son of Raja *Satyavâna*, of the Lunar race. *Surathal Khera* measured 1,200 feet in length from north-east to south-west, by 1,000 feet in breadth. Close to the south-south-west side of it there is another large *khera*, with a village on it called "Raja *Sadun-ka-khera*," or "Sadüngarh," probably *Satun* or *Sataun*, for *Satyavan*.

There are also many other smaller mounds between the two places. The two kheras of *Surathal* and *Sadun* together evidently once formed one large city. Another ancient place named *Amrama-pati Khera* is situated on the right bank of the *Sât* river, and near the village of Alipur.

About a mile to the north-west of the last place, there is another mound called *Chandreswar Khera*.

Gumthal Khera, which is situated about 2 miles to the south-east from Surathal Khera, measures about 1,600 feet in length from east to west, by about 1,000 feet in breadth from north to south.

All these places are situated to the south-êast from Sambhal and Chandausi.

The principal building in Sambhal is the Jâmi Masjid, which the Hindus claim to have been originally the temple of *Hari Mandir*. It consists of a central domed room upwards of 20 feet square, with two wings of unequal length,

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that to the north being 50 feet 6 inches, while the southern wing is only 38 feet 1½ inches. Each wing has three arched openings in front, which are all of different widths, varying from 7 feet to 8 feet.[1]

The Muhammadans ascribe the erection of the building to the time of the Emperor Babar, and point to an inscription inside the masjid, which certainly contains the name of Babar, but which the Hindus assert to be a forgery of late date. At or on the back of this slab, they say that there is the original Hindu inscription belonging to the temple. Several Musalmans of Sambhal confessed to me that the inscription containing Babar's name was a forgery, and that the Muhammadans did not get possession of the building until about the time of the mutiny, or a little before it, say about 25 years ago. That they took possession of the building by force; and that there was then a trial about the case in Court before the Judge of the district, and that the Muhammadans gained the case mainly by means of the forged inscription, and also by all the Muhammadans joining together and bearing false witness against the Hindus, who were in the minority.

In the forged inscription of Babar in the Hari Mandir at Sambhal, it may be observed that the name of Babar is wrongly given. In the inscription I read as follows:—

Bâni Aina Ilm o Amal:
Shâh Jamjâh Muhammad Bâbar.

باني انبيةٔ علم و عمل * شاه جم جاه محمد بابر

But the real name of this king was "Shâh Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babar."

The fine dome of this building is probably unique of its kind. It is a clear hollow shell from the keystone down to the ground. Its shape is very much like the hollow of the inside of a huge thimble. The interior shape of the dome is ovoid, or like the half of an ovoid ellipse rotated on its axis. The dome is built of brick, and it is said to have been rebuilt (as it now is) by the famous Prithvi Raja, who appears to have been a great benefactor to Sambhal. The circular dome stands upon an octagon, and the octagon upon a square.

The walls of the central square Hindu temple would appear to have been built with large bricks cased with stone, but the plaster with which the Muhammadans have coated the walls conceals the material of which they are made;

[1] See Plates III and IV for plan and elevation of this Masjid.

and I can only say that, on examining several spots where the plaster was broken, I found that in some places stone was exposed. I believe that the Muhammadans stripped off most of the stone, especially such as bore traces of Hinduism, and made a pavement of the stones, turning the sculptures downwards. I observed traces which showed that the walls had once been much thicker when the stone casing was on. Underneath the outer steps of the outer court I dug out some fragments of sculpture in reddish sandstone, one of which was the upper portion of a fluted pillar.

The Muhammadan wings added to the building, in order to turn it into a masjid, are built of small bricks, that is, wherever the walls happened to be bare of plaster, I found that the bricks were small and set in mud mortar. There is a clear and distinct difference between the old Hindu work and the modern Muhammadan work, and the old Hindu temple is at once distinguishable from the Muhammadan additions.

The square Hindu temple would have had originally only one doorway in the east wall, about 8 feet in width, but the Muhammadans cut four more doors, each 6 feet wide, two in the northern and two in the southern wall of the square temple, in order to communicate with the aisles of the side wings which they added.

Note by General Cunningham.

[The inscription in the masjid which the Hindus denounce as being forged appears to me to be quite genuine. The text is as follows:—

جامع اشیهٔ فَضلِ و کمال * رافع آلوهٔ ملک و مِلَل

باسطه أَضجِهٔ امن و آمان * با نئي أَنبيهٔ علم و عَمَل

شاه جم جاه محمد با بر * حَفِظَ اللّهٌ عَزّ و جَلْ

شمع دولت چو بر افروخت بهند * روشن از پر توان شد سنبل

از پئی ساختن این مسجد * که مَصُون باد ز نقصان و خَلَل

کرد فرمان بکمین بندهٔ خویش * که بود عُمدهٔ أرکان دُوَل

میر با عقل و خرد هندوبیگ * آن باخلاق نکو گشته مَثَل

چون بزمان شهنشاه جهان * یافت إتمام بتوفیق آ زَ ل

سال تاریخ ذمه دورش گشته * یکم از شهر ربیع الاول

The full date is given in a very ingenious manner with the last words :—

Ekum az Shahar Rabi-al-awal,

which mean literally "on the first day of the month of Rabi-al-awal," while the sum of the individual letters give the year 933 A. H. according to the reckoning of the Abjad. The builder, or rather the converter, of the Hindu temple into a masjid was Mir Hindu Beg.]

9.—AHÂR.

Ahâr, or Ahewa-nagara, or Abhanagara, lies on the west or right bank of the Ganges, about 7 or 8 miles to the north from Anupshahr.

Ahar is the present name on the town which is said to occupy the actual site of the ancient city of "Kundilpur," which bleonged to Raja Bhishmak, in the time of Krishna, and from which Krishna carried off his bride, Rukmini, the daughter of Raja Bishmak, whom her brother Rukam had forcibly betrothed (against her will) to Sisupal, Raja of Chedi.

Ahâr, and especially the deserted site, or bare elevated ground or *khera*, immediately adjoining the west of it, is still known as "*Kundilpur*" to the Pandits and to the *Pujaris* of the temples and to the pilgrims or devotees who visit the spot. Ahâr would, therefore, appear to be perhaps one of the most well-marked of ancient sites still existing in India from the heroic ages of Hinduism.

It is at least a place of considerable traditionary romantic interest and of reputedly venerable antiquity.

It would, however, appear to be very doubtful whether Ahâr can be identified with the Kundilpur of tradition, after all. In an excellent historical memoir of the zillah of Bulandshahar, by the intelligent Deputy Collector of the district, Kuar Lachman Singh, he says that —

"this tradition is evidently wrong, for, according to the Purans, the capital of Bhismak was at Kundilpur, and the name of his country was Vidarbh, which has been ascertained to be Bidar, or the Barars of Central India. Moreover, there is no mention whatever in the description of Kundilpur, as given in the Purans, that it was in the vicinity of the Ganges. Had the present site of Ahâr been really the ancient site of the capital of Vidarbh, it is highly improbable that its situation on the bank of the Ganges should not have been mentioned in the "Rukmin Wedding Chapter" of the Bhagwat, where the houses, gardens, suburbs, and other particulars of the scene are minutely detailed."

I may also mention that Kuar Lachman Singh expressed the same opinion to me himself personally during a visit which I paid to Bulandshahar.

Now, the identification of Vidarbh, the country of Raja Bhishmak, with the Berars of Central India, is certainly a strong argument against the possibility of Ahir being Kundilpur, the capital of Raja Bhishmak. The only question is whether the identification of the country of Raja Bhishmak with the Berars of Central India is *conclusively* certain or not; and, in such mere traditions as those concerning Krishna, which I myself believe to be totally *mythological*, I think the identification of any of the localities named in those traditions must be very uncertain, and may be open to question.[1] For I believe that the localities may be as mythical as the traditions in which mention is made of them. Nay, I believe, moreover, that even the persons whose names appear in such traditions, and who generally bear the character of demi-god heroes and demons, were simply a mythical phantasmagoria. And as the Homeric story of the siege of Troy is now generally believed to be a mere *mythos* allied to the *mythoi* of the Vedas, I think we shall be justified in placing the traditions about Krishna, as well as those of the Ramayana concerning Rama and Hanuman and such like, in the same mythical category. Indeed, for that matter, I would even venture to attribute the whole story of the *Mahabharat* to the same mythical origin. For I do not believe that the circumstances or transactions treated of in these traditional tales ever had any existence whatever in reality; and I believe in nothing except in those data which may be obtained from actual ancient inscriptions on stone or on copper-plates, or from ancient coins. But yet, at the same time, in my archæological reports on ancient places of historical interest, I feel myself in duty bound to pay a certain degree of respect to such traditions, and to take notice of them and record them wherever they are found.

But, even supposing that there were some truth in the identification of the country of Raja Bhishmak with the Berars of Central India, I think that is the *only* objection that can be offered against the general popular belief, in this

[1] It is quite certain that the city of *Bidar* is the ancient *Vidarbha*, and it is equally certain that it has no connection with *Berar*. Bidar is on the Manjhira River, or southern branch of the Godavari, while the province of Berar is limited to the valleys of the Warda and Venya Ganga Rivers, about 150 miles to the north of Bidar.—*A. Cunningham.*

part of the country, that *Ahar* was the Kundilpur of tradition; for any of the *other* objections raised by Lachman Singh can be easily disposed of.

I do not think that the fact (if true) that the river Ganges is not mentioned in the description of Kundilpur given in the Bhâgavat, is any serious objection whatever to the identification of Ahâr with that place. For, in the *first* place, all of the inhabitants of Ahâr itself, who knew anything about the history of the place, confidently assured me that "Kundilpur" was an ancient name of Ahâr; or, in other words, that Ahâr was the Kundilpur of tradition. And in the *second* place, the Tahsildar of Bulandshahr, who appeared to be very well informed on such subjects, in some conversation on this subject which I had with him, quoted the very words of Rukmini herself, to the effect that, when she sent a message to Krishna imploring him to come to her rescue, she said that, if he did not come, "*Kûd Mahod Karungi;*" that is, "that she would jump into the *Mahod.* Now, "*Mahod*" is one of the names of the Ganges river itself; and therefore, when Rukmini said that she would jump into the Mahod, she meant that she would jump into the Ganges! And certainly she could not have jumped into the Ganges in a hurry unless it was near Kundilpur, where she lived! It is true that "*Mahod*" or "*Mahoday*" also means final absorption into the divine essence, or final beatitude, or, as we say, "*eternity*," that is, an end to life by death. But the Ganges is also called Mahod, because the dead are consigned to its waters, as if to the waters of Eternity, and I expect therefore that when Rukmini used the term "Mahod," she meant the waters of the Ganges and not mere "absorption."

Again, in his Historical Memoir, Lachman Singh remarks that the name of Ahâr has been derived by some from *Ahi-har*, meaning "serpents destroyed" (or, as I would translate it, the destruction of the serpent), because, as he says, it is supposed that Ahâr was the place where *Janmejaya* performed the (*hom*) sacrifice, for the destruction of the serpent race. But all I can say is that I did not find any such tradition whatever current at *Ahâr;* but on the contrary, the natives of Ahâr itself totally disclaimed any such honour for their place; and they all with one accord agreed in stating that *Janmejaya* had performed the *hom* sacrifice of a serpent at an ancient site called "*Taurput,*" *Taharpur* or *Taerpur*, on the bank of the river about 2½ miles or

3 miles to the north-north-west from Ahâr. I visited this ancient site myself and I found that the *Hom* sacrifice was still regularly performed at *Taharpur* by Brahmans, on a small altar of masonry; and I was shown the (reputed) actual, ancient great earth-work *platform* on which the *Janmejaya* had performed the *Hom* sacrifice of a serpent.

I was repeatedly informed and assured by the natives of Ahâr, generally, that the most ancient name of Ahar was, "*Avanagar*," or "*Awanagara*," or "Ahwanagara," as this name was variously pronounced by them. Now, I believe this ancient name of Ahâr, "*Ahwanâgra*," to be absolutely identical with "*Abha Nagari*," or *Abhanagara*," the ancient capital of Raja Chand, but which Lachman Sing has, nevertheless, somehow identified with "*Aurangabad Chandokh*," which is situated about 12 miles to the south-west from Ahâr. "Chandok," by its very name, shows that it was founded by Raja Chand.[1] But I believe Ahâr to have been the capital, under the name of "Abhanagara." With regard to the derivation of the names *Abhangara* and *Awa-nagara* or *Ahwa-nagara*, I may state that "*abha*" in Sanskrit means light, splendour, beauty; and "*abhay*" means without fear; while *ay* means to keep, to protect, to defend, to obtain; "*avani*" means the earth, and *ahva* means a name, an appellation, a calling, a summons, an invocation, or an invitation; and "*ahvna*," or "*ahwan*," means unemulous, or without emulation. In Hindi, "*awa*" means a brick-kiln; and it is remarkable that there are numerous mounds round Ahâr which are evidently the remains of ancient "*pazâwâhs*," or heaps of scoriœ or ashes and brick slag in which brick and pottery had been formerly burned.

I may here notice that there is also a place in Rajputana called "Awa-nagar," I believe about 30 miles to the north-east from Jaypur.

The second ancient name of Ahâr, as I stated before, is said to have been "*Kundilpur*," by which name it is supposed to have been known in the time of Krishna and the Yadus.

In his Memoir of Zillah Bulandshahar, Lachman Singh says that—

"there seems but little doubt that Ahâr was the capital of a province of the Pandava empire, and that after it had been assigned to the Nagars,[2] the head-quarters of the Governor were removed to

[1] "*Chand Okh*" in Hindi literally means "*the house of Chand.*"
[2] By Janmejaya.

the spot where Bulandshahar now stands. . . At any rate, the large mounds of ashes and ruined buildings indicate Ahâr to be an ancient town. It may be the Ahi Kshetra where Drona established his head-quarters after having overcome Raja Drupad and taken possession, as mentioned in the Mahabhârat, of the northern half of his Pânchâl kingdom."

I have only one remark to make upon the above, and that is, that "*Ahi-kshetra*, or rather *Ahi-chhatra*, the capital of North Panchala, has already been identified by General Cunningham with "*Ram-nagar*," which is situated about 15 miles to the east from Bareli and about 22 miles to the north from Badaon.

The name of Ahâr is said to be derived from the Sanskrit word *hâr*, meaning defeat, or discomfiture, or destruction, as, for instance, in the loss of a battle or the defeat of an army, conjecturally the defeat of Sisupâl and Jarâsandha by the Yadus. But unless the initial letter "A" is a mere accidental prefix, added by corruption, it would rather seem to indicate the negative particle "*a*," prefixed to the word "*hâr*;" and therefore Ahâr would more likely mean *without defeat*, or *without fail*, that is, successful, and it might thus perhaps be conjectured to refer to the supposed fact of Krishna having not failed, but on the contrary, having been eminently successful and victorious in fulfilling his promise to rescue and carry off Rukmini, and also to the fact that Krishna and his brother Balram are supposed to have here completely defeated the armies of Sisupal, Jarasindhu, and Rukam. *Ahâr* might therefore be taken to mean "*without failure*," or "successful," or *unconquered*. But in Sanskrit, "*ahar*" with the *first vowel only long* means a *pond* or *pit*, or a trough for watering cattle, while "*ahar*" with *both* vowels *long* means *provisions*, *aliment*, *provender*, or food, and therefore, as the name of a place, *Ahâr* might signify a victualling place, a place for provisions or stores of food, a commissariat in fact, or it might mean a pasture-ground reserved for the fodder, or provender or feeding of cattle; and in that sense *Ahâr*, as meaning fodder, provender, or pasture, might be the origin of the name of the "*Ahirs*," who are cattle-herds; so that the term "*Ahir*" might literally mean *feeders*, or *provender-providers* for cattle, or graziers, or pasturers. Much in the same manner as I am very much inclined to suspect the name of the "*Gujars*," who are also cattle-herds, may be a mere corruption of *Gauchara*, which would mean *cattle-grazers*,

from "*gau*," cows or cattle, and *chara*, fodder or forage or pasture. For, in the Hindi language, at the present day, "*gau-charai*" means grazing of cattle. It seems, therefore, very probable that the term "*Gujar*" is simply a corruption or abbreviation of "*Gau-chara*." This would, of course, entirely militate against General Cunningham's theory of the name of the Gujars being derived from that of the so-called *Indo-Scythic* "*Gushang*," or "*Kushan*," or "*Khurshan*." On the other hand, again, the name of the "*Ahirs*" might be derived from the Sanskrit word "*ahi*," a serpent, and might thus have originally signified serpent-worshippers, or an Ophite race, and thus the *Ahirs* might originally have been a branch of the great *Naga* race of India, whose origin is involved in mystery. Such a supposition is, indeed, somewhat supported by the tradition that "*Ahi-chhatra*," to the west of Bareli, was founded by a Raja *Ahi*, an *Ahir*, with whom a legend about a *hooded serpent* is connected; and I think it would probably follow that this Raja *Ahi* must have really been the great traditional ancestor and progenitor of the whole Ahir race! Now, a Raja "*Ahi Baran*" is said to have been the founder of Bulandshahar, the ancient name of which was "*Baran*;" and a Raja "*Ahid*" or "*Ahd*," an *Ahir*, was the traditional founder of the ancient city of Sânkra, on the Budh Ganga. I myself, therefore, believe these three personages, with only slightly varying names, to have been in reality one and the same individual.

I have thought it proper to bring forward these few etymological and ethnological suggestions here, because the whole of this part of the country, extending from Bulandshahar in the west to *Ahi-chhatra* in the east, and from thence southwards to the site of the ancient *Ahir* city of Sânkara on the *Budh Ganga*, opposite to Seheswan, is closely connected, by tradition, with the *Ahir* race; and also, because I believe that the *Ahirs* must have been the race who possessed *Ahâr*, and the whole surrounding country, when *Ahâr* was called "*Ahwa-nagara*." Moreover, I think it is just possible that the traditionally famous great Raja "*Ben Chakwa*," or *Vena Chakravartti*, who is reputed to have founded so many places in this part of the country, may have belonged to the *Ahir* race, unless, indeed, the name of "*Vena Chakravartti*" may have been (as I strongly suspect) only another, or Hinduised, form of the name of the famous so-called *Indo-Scythic* king "*Wema Kadphises*," which is, at least, equally probable.

I may, however, mention that the word "*Ahar*" (spelled with both the vowels short) is also the name of a tribe of Rajputs.

But to return to the consideration of *Ahâr* as the supposed Kundilpur. It is well known to all who have read the Prem Sagar, that Bhismak, Raja of Kundilpur, was favourable to the marriega of his daughter Rukmini with Krishna, but that his son *Rukam*, a bad and haughty man, cherished a feeling of hatred against Krishna, and was determined to have his sister Rukmini married by force to Sisupâl, Raja of Chedi. Rukmini had already in a vision seen the form of the divine Krishna as her destined husband, and she had therefore firmly fixed her affections upon him. The gentle Rukmini therefore dispatched a faithful Brahman to Krishna at Dwarka, the city of the Yadus, to inform him of her distress, and to implore his aid and protection. Krishna immediately started on a hasty journey for Kundilpur, and was speedily followed by his brother Balrâm with an army. When Krishna reached Kundilpur, his arrival was notified to Rukmini. Rukmini then, on the very day that she was to have been forcibly married to Sisupâl, sent another secret message to Krishna by the same faithful Brahman, to inform him that when two *gharis*, or watches, of the day were still left, she would go to a temple of *Devi* to the east of the city, in order to pay her devotions. The message which Rukmini sent to Krishna is given in the "Prem Sagar" as follows:—

"O abode of Kindness! this is the marriage day; when two *gharis* of the day are left, I will go to perform *puja* at a temple of Devi, eastward of the city. My modesty and good name have been entrusted to you; act so that they may be preserved."

Krishna, faithful according to appointment, arrived in his *rath*, or chariot, at the temple while Rukmini was there, and before she could leave it to return.

The path of Rukmini had been well guarded by the demon guards of Sisupâl and Jarasandha; but when the lovely Rukmini issued from the temple, these demon guards were completely confused, abashed, and paralysed, on the one hand by the divine appearance of Krishna, and on the other hand by the dazzling beauty of Rukmini; and then Krishna came forward, and, in spite of them all, placed his arm round the waist of Rukmini, and lifted her on to his chariot beside him, and drove off on his homeward route westward on the road which should lead him towards Dwarka. Krishna was presently pursued by the whole army of Sisupâl and Jara-

sandha, which his brother Balram, with his Yadu followers, completely defeated. Presently Rukam (the son of Raja Bhismak), hearing of the defeat of his allies, collected his forces and pursued Krishna; but Krishna defeated Rukam and made him prisoner, and only spared his life at the intercession of the beautiful Rukmini, and of his brother Balram.

Now, the *temple* of *Devi,* to the east of the city of Kundilpur, from which Krishna carried off Rukmini, was a very sacred shrine, dedicated to the tutelary female divinity *Ambikâ Devi.* This temple was situated on the old bank of the Ganges, probably at a bend of the river eastwards, about 2 miles nearly to the east from the city of Kundilpur. Since that time, however, the river Ganges has changed its course at that point, and has eaten away its bank, until the site of the ancient temple has become overwhelmed and swept away, and buried in the very centre of the present bed of the river. But I was assured that some of the remains of the overturned ruins, or at least the actual site of this ancient temple, were actually still visible and recognisable a few centuries ago; and the actual spot in the river-bed in which the site of the temple became engulphed, is still carefully remembered and pointed out. It appears that an ancient forest extended from the interior out on to a point of land at this spot, and that the ancient temple was situated at the end, or apex, of this forest-covered point of land. A portion of this dense primeval forest still remains on the west bank of the river, exactly opposite to the spot on the river where the ancient temple once stood; and on the bank of the river, in the border of the forest next the river, there is still a small plain square-domed temple, dedicated to *Ambikâ Devi,* said to be about two or three centuries old, which is one of probably several successive structures which have been built to replace and perpetuate the ancient temple, so that a devout Hindu pilgrim and worshipper of "*Hari*" may still, through faith, believe that he is paying his devotions at the shrine once trodden by the feet of Rukmini, and hallowed by the presence, and fearlessly merciful and loving act, of *Krishna.*

There is a very fine old and rather richly-carved wooden door, of Nim wood, in the doorway of this temple, and there is a *Nâgari* inscription carved on it, dated in Samvat 1872 (A.D. 1815).

Near the present temple of Devi there is also a small shrine dedicated to *Mahadeva,* or *Siva;* and they are sur-

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rounded by a range of buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims and worshippers. Indeed, an inclosed shelter of some kind, for those who frequent the shrine, is absolutely necessary, as this lonely patch of forest is still occasionally visited by tigers,—a fact of which I was assured by the testimony of numerous people. The tigers do not seem always to frequent the spot, but appear only at certain times of the year, principally, it is said, about the month of *Kartik*, or October, just after the rains. They are probably stray tigers, which occasionally wander from the most southerly outskirts of the *Terai*. I can, however, personally bear witness to the fact that this patch of forest, surrounding the shrine of *Ambikâ Devi* and the neighbouring ravines, is infested by wolves, as I myself saw no less than three wolves there in one night, and one of my goats was nearly carried off by a wolf on the road.

There is another old temple about 2 miles to the west from *Ahâr*. This temple is dedicated to "*Ambikeswar;*" but it is also known among the common people by the vulgar name of "*Kanchan Bakhsh-ka-Mandir,*" that is, "The temple of the giver of gold." This temple is far-famed, and is said to be of very ancient foundation. The temple stands within a high-walled inclosure, with octagonal towers at the corners, but with a later addition at the back, beyond the back pair of towers; the whole, including the towers and the back addition, being about 85 feet in length by 66 feet in breadth.[1] Within this inclosure there is a high raised *chautra*, or platform of masonry, 37 feet by 24 feet 8 inches, on which the temple stands. The temple itself is a small building, 26 feet 9 inches in length, by 15 feet 6 inches in breadth. It contains two small square chambers, of exactly the same size, each chamber being 9 feet 6 inches square interiorly. The backmost chamber of the two constitutes the sanctum, which contains only a large *Lingam*. The walls of the temple are about 3 feet in thickness. Each of the two chambers is surmounted by a low hemispherical dome. This temple is decidedly old, but very plain and devoid of any architectural beauties. It is, however, said to stand on the site of a much more ancient and larger temple, which was destroyed many centuries ago.

In the town of *Ahâr* there is another temple dedicated to "*Norbadeswar.*" It is ornamented exteriorly with figures;

[1] See Plate IV for a plan of this temple.

but, although it stands on an undoubtedly ancient site, I do not think that the present temple is more than middle-aged—at any rate, it does not look old. There is no inscription of any kind about it.

The present town of *Ahâr* is about half a mile square.

The ancient city of *Ahwa-nagara,* or *Kundilpur*, is said to have included the site of the present town, and also a large extent of bare elevated ground, now partly intersected by ravines, which extends to the south-west and west-south-west from and beyond the present town. The whole extent of the ancient city may probably have been about 1½ miles square. Fragments of ancient bricks and pottery are scattered, here and there, over the bare ground to the south-west.

At *Ahâr* I obtained a mutilated stone, which was broken in two in the middle, 2 feet 9 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth, and 5 inches in thickness, on which there was a *Kutila* inscription, which had been totally disfigured and defaced, with the exception of a few words,—the stone having been cut by a mason in order to form a water-spout, either for a well or for a temple. The inscription originally covered the whole of one side and one end of the stone. I could plainly see that there had been a date in the second line, which ran round both the end and side of the stone ; but all that remained of it were the doubtful words " *S'ravan* Samvatra 373 "? or " *S'ravan Samv* 1037 ra ? * * * * * *nao Sudi* 12 *Samvatsra 1037 mâsa divasa* 26." I could also read the words " *Mahipâl Dev* " in the first line. I think it is very probable that this " *Mahipal Dev* " may have been the " *Raja Mahipal* " of Kanauj, who lived in the eleventh century.[1]

10.—INDÔR, OR INDRAPURA.

Indôr Khera is the name of a very large and lofty mound, with a small village perched on the east-north-eastern side of it, situated on the right bank of the *eastern* branch of the " *Choya Nadi,*" about 2,500 feet, or about half a mile, to the west-north-west from the Anûpshahar and Koel *Road,* and about 8 miles to the south-south-west from *Anûpshahar ;* it is also about 5 miles to the north-west from *Dhubhai,* and about 7 miles, in

[1] I think it probable that the date may have been " Samvat 1173," or A.D. 1116, during the reign of Mahipala, the Tomara Raja of Delhi and Kanauj, whose name is still preserved in that of the village of Mahipâlpux, near the Kutb Minar at Delhi.—*A. Cunningham.*

the same direction, from the *Dhubhai Station* of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway.

The local tradition is that Indôr was *founded* by the famous Raja "*Ben Chakwa*," or *Vena Chakravartti*, presumably somewhere about two thousand years ago; and that it was rebuilt, or afterwards possessed, by a "Raja *Dôr*," whom the ignorant people of the village of Indôr absurdly supposed to have been a *son* of Raja *Ben Chakwa!* But this "Raja *Dôr*" of the local traditions evidently simply means *a* Raja of the *Dôr tribe* of Râjpûts, who are believed to have come into this part of the country, about the *end* of the 10th century, from the central *Duâb*, as stated by Kuar Lachman Singh in his Historical Memoir of the Zillah of Bulandshahar. These *Dôr* Rajputs are the same as the race of "*Doda*," or "*Dore*," mentioned by Tod in his *Annals* of *Rajasthân*;" and of which race some account was given by me in my reports on "Toda" and "Visalpur" in the great general report of my tour in *Rajputana*.[1]

It is also said that "*Ani Rai*," or "*Auûp Rai*," *Badgujar*, of Anûpshahr, in the time of Jahângir, made some attempt to restore or rebuild the fortifications of Indôr; but gave it up as a hopeless job. At any rate, on the northern edge of the great Khèra of Indôr, there are the wrecked remains of a small portion of a thick wall, and a low, ruined bastion, composed of small bricks, in a mass of tremendously strong mortar, which are reputed to represent that portion where Anûp Rai commenced his fruitless attempts to restore them.

Indôr Khêra is, beyond doubt, an exceedingly ancient site; and if, as I have ventured to believe, "Raja *Vena Chakravartti*" was simply the *Brahmanical* Hindu name of the great (so-called) "Indo-Scythic" King "*Wema Kadphises*," then *Indôr Khêra* is even still older than his time. For, among numerous ancient coins which I obtained from the soil of *Indôr Khera* itself, there were not only a good many Indo-Scythic coins, and also several coins of the *Buddhist Satraps;* but there was also one coin with a legend in *ancient* characters of the time of *Asoka*, besides some half dozen punch-marked coins of a type known to be much older than the period of Asoka.

But I had the good fortune to obtain a still more certain and absolute evidence of the antiquity of *Indôr*, by the

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VI.

discovery of an inscription on a *copper-plate* found in a nalla in the village of *Indôr*, dated in the reign of *Skanda Gupta*, in the year " one hundred and forty-six" of the era of the *Guptas*, which would be equivalent to about A.D. 224 or 225. This inscription is also important, because it mentions the actual ancient and original Sanskrit form of the *name* of *Indôr* no less than *three times* as "*Indrapûra;*" by which we learn that the modern name of "*Indôr*" is simply a vulgar popular contraction, or corruption, of the ancient name "*Indrapûra*," through the intermediate forms of *Indrâwaran* and *Indâwar*. This copper-plate inscription is in twelve lines.

[The following translation is from the pen of the distinguished scholar, Babu Rajendra LÂla Mitra, to whom I submitted the inscription shortly after its discovery.—*A. Cunningham.*]

TRANSLATION.

"Amen! May he whom Brahmans, in obedience to law, praise with the harmony of meditation and the entire devotion of their minds;—may he whose end and whose motions upwards and sideways neither the gods nor Asuras can divine;—may he whom men overpowered by disease and dispondency seek with the utmost earnestness;—may that fountain and creator of light (Bhâskara) who pierces the darksome envelope of the earth, be to your protection!

"In the year one hundred and forty-six, in the month of Phâlguna the (?) of the thriving and invincible kingdom of his most noble majesty the supreme sovereign of great kings the auspicious Skanda Gupta, for the promotion of prosperity in the possession of the owner Sarvanâga in Antarvedi (or the Doâb of the Ganges and Jamuna) * * * * * versed in the four Vedas, the highly-respected Brahmana Devavishnu, son of Deva, grandson of Pârindâna, and great-grandson of Dodika, constant in the adoration of Fire, of the family (anvaya) of Gorâ and the clan (gotra) of Varshangana, within precincts of Indrapura, provides for the promotion of the fame of his mother, the wherewitha. for the maintenance of a lamp for the (image of the) lord Savitâ (the sun) which established to the east of the hermitage of the two Kshatriya saints, Achalavarma and Bhumikantha, and adjoining Indrapura and Mardasyâna. It should be the duty of the guild of oilmen inhabitating Indrapura to maintain this grant, and by supplying the oil to the Brahmans of the temple to make the merit of this gift reflect on them.

"On every new moon they should give two palas of oil in addition to the daily allowance, and this (should be done) as long as the sun and the moon shall last. He will be a vile murderer of cattle, of spiritual instructors and of Brahmans, who will venture to set aside this ordinance; enveloped by the five heinous sins and all minor sins, such a wretch will drop to the nether regions. Finished."

The following remarks regarding the subject of this inscription and its date are taken from the learned Babu's notice prefixed to his translation :—

"The document opens with a stanza in praise of the sun god, and then records the mandate of a petty zemindâr, named Devavishnu, rendering it obligatory on the part of the guild of oil sellers at Indrapura in the Doâb to supply the temple of the sun, at the place, with a sufficient quantity of oil daily for the use of the temple, the supply being increased by two palas, which will be equal to 1,120 grains, or about 2½ ounces, on every new moon day.

"The donor was a Brahmana versed in the four Vedas, and owner of an estate in the Doâb of the Ganges and Jamuna, which is indicated by its ancient name, Antarvedi. The locale of the township of Indrapura is doubtless the modern village of Indore, and the Kherâ probably contains the ruins of the old temple of the sun.

"The date is by far the most important part of this record. It states in clear and unmistakable words, "the year one hundred and forty-six of the thriving and invincible kingdom of Skanda Gupta," or, in other words, a Gupta era calculated in connection with a thriving kingdom, and not from a reign. The compound word "abhivardhamâna-vijaya râjya-samvatsare" cannot consistently be interpreted in any other way. Grammatically, the phrase "râjya-samvatsare" can only mean "in the year of the kingdom," and to apply it to the reign it should be split into two separate words "râjya" and "samvatsare ;" but the *fac simile* in this part is perfectly clear, and there is no trace in it of the vowel *e*, the mark of the locative, at the end of the first word. I called the attention of General Cunningham to this part of the record, and he assured me in reply that he could find no mark on the plate to indicate the vowel in question; a rubbing of this part of the plate which he has sent me appears perfectly distinct and without any vowel-mark on the top of the word râjya. Without the case-mark, the phrase, if applied to the reign on the strength of the epithet "abhivardhamâna," "flourishing," being in the present tense, it would make the reign of the prince extend to a hundred and forty-six years, and I have no hesitation, therefore, in rejecting such an interpretation as absurd. The word "râjya" in this part of the inscription has the letter ञ्य so engraved as to make it thereby appear like rârâjya, but this is an obvious misformation of the compound consonant *jya*, due to the writer, or the engraver, of the record, and cannot be taken as in any way intended to alter the sense. The mark for *e* is in the record a hook on the top, and not a curved line behind, as in modern Bengali, and one of the ञ्य's cannot therefore be taken for a vowel mark. It is possible, however, that a small mark, like that for *e*, may be omitted by mistake, and mistakes of the kind not being unknown in copper-plate inscriptions, it is necessary to enquire whether such a mistake has here been committed or not."

[On reading over these remarks, I have again examined the inscribed plate of Skanda Gupta, which has now been

most thoroughly cleaned. When Babu Rajendra Lala referred to me some years ago about the reading of râjya or râjye, I could not then perceive any vowel mark over the *jy*. But now that the plate has been very carefully cleaned, I can see a faint trace of the vowel *e* of the usual form in this inscription springing from the left upper corner of the *jy*, and curving backwards over the vowel *a* of *râ*. The true reading of the words is therefore *râjye*, as proposed by the learned translator.

Regarding the date of Samvat, I have no doubt whatever that it must be referred to the Gupta kál, or era of the Guptas. The initial point of this era I believe that I have now discovered from the double dates of the inscriptions of Râja Hastin and his son Sankshobya, compared with the week-day named in the inscription of Budha Gupta on the Eran pillar. This initial point is A.D. 167=the year 1 of the Gupta kal. The date of the Indorkhera inscription will therefore be 166+146=312 A.D.—*A. Cunningham.*]

I obtained, altogether, about a hundred and fifty coins, of all sorts, from the soil of *Indôr Khèra* itself. Of these, the *most ancient* are six rectangular *punch-marked* coins, of which one is silver and the remainder copper. The silver punch-marked coin has seven symbols stamped on it, of which five are on the obverse and two on the reverse. One of the symbols on the reverse is shaped like a two-headed or two-looped knot, with a curved tail, surrounding a circular nucleus, and may very possibly have been the distinguishing symbol of the ancient city of *Indrâapra*. One of the *copper punch-marked* coins has the figure of a bull in a recumbent position, with some letters of the most ancient type to the left of the bull's head, two only of which are decipherable, and which read as *dhama*, which appears to be followed by the letter *cha*. Another of the *punch-marked* coins has some rude, unrecognisable symbols stamped on one face, and it has three parallel lines, drawn longitudinally, along the middle of the other face.

Equally ancient, probably, are upwards of half a dozen generally very brittle, irregular-shaped, flat pieces of copper, with exceedingly rude, blotchy devices, raised in slight relief upon them. Two of these appear to bear a rude figure of a man. Another of these rude pieces has a human figure, which appears to be a woman, sitting between two other imperfect blotchy-shaped figures, one of which looks like an animal, and may be an elephant. The devices on the

remaining pieces are too blotchy and indistinct to be recognised. I consider these pieces to be examples of the earliest, or most archaic or primitive, crude attempts to represent devices or figures on a rude coinage, by the aid of roughly-formed, flat, soft, clay moulds, on which a shallow design was coarsely traced.

The next coins in point of antiquity are six coins of the early Hindu moulded type, which generally bear Buddhist symbols. One of these coins, which bears eight Buddhist symbols, four on each face of the coin, is exactly the same as the coin represented in "*Prinsep's Indian Antiquities,*" Vol. I., plate XIX, Fig. 18. Two other coins have the figure of an elephant on one face, and a device on the other face which consists of a lozenge-shaped figure with the corners rounded off and the sides bent in, or rather a figure composed of four small semi-circles, of which the concave sides face each other, and the contiguous ends uniting to form a continuous wavy outline. Another coin has the figure of an elephant on one face; but the device on the other face is composed of four small circles connected by two straight lines crossing one another at right angles.

I have now to notice a single unique coin, obtained at Indôr, which has a legend, in the ancient *Lat* character of the Edicts of Asoka, running in a straight line across the centre of the coin. The first letter of the legend is so much worn away as to be almost obliterated; but from the little trace that remains of the back stroke of the letter, it would appear to have been an "*A.*" The remaining letters of the legend are, however, sufficiently plain and distinct; and I read the whole as "*Ajyashvaḍattama,*" or "*Ajyeshṭhaḍattama.*" On the reverse of the coin there is the remains of an erect human figure.

The Indôr coins, which stand next in antiquity, are twenty-eight pieces of the *Buddhist satrap* type. Of these, thirteen, or nearly one-half, are square coins of "*Vîrasèna,*" whom General Cunningham considers to have been the Deputy Governor, or *Satrap*, over *Mathura* (that is, over Northern India) under the great Indo-Scythic King *Kanishka;* and I may add that the General has obtained altogether about a hundred coins of the same *Vîra Sena* from *Mathura* alone. Now, if during one single rainy season I have been able to obtain a dozen coins of this *Vîra Sena*, from *Indôr-Khèra*, it is evident that in three or four seasons more I should probably be able to obtain nearly as many of these

coins from this place as General Cunningham obtained from Mathura! This fact alone is a proof that *Indôr*, or *Indrapûra*, must have been a place of importance during the period of the *Indo-Ṣcythic* domination in India; and I would further remark that such facts as these afford one of the strongest proofs of the great importance of coins as an aid in developing the ancient history of India. We saw before, in another instance, that the name of *Brâhmana Deva*, whose genealogy is given in my Indôr copper-plate inscription, occurred also on numerous coins which General Cunningham had been so fortunate as to obtain.

The oldest of the *Buddhist Satrap* class of coinage which I obtained at Indôr, judging by the style of the characters of the legend, was a unique oval-shaped copper coin, stamped on one face with a square die, which covers only about two-thirds of the face of the coin. In the centre there is a small erect human figure. To the right there is a symbol which resembles the Greek capital letter Φ. On the left there is the usual conventional, angularly-formed Buddhist symbol of a branched, candelabra-like tree. And over the top of the whole there is a legend of six or seven letters, in a straight line, which I at first read as "*Râjâsa Akhasa*," signifying "the coin of *Raja Akha*." But on a subsequent closer scrutiny of the coin, I have come to the conclusion that the central character of the legend, which I at first took for the letter *â*, is in reality two letters, namely "*dâ*," followed by "*ro*," or "*ḍo*;" and that therefore the whole legend may be read as "*Râjâsa Dârokhasa*," or "*Dâḍokhasa*." I prefer the last reading of "*Dâḍokhasa*," as the second of the two middle letters of the legend appears to me pretty certainly to be the hard cerebral "*ḍ*" of the ancient alphabet, with two vowel strokes, or *lagmâtras*, attached respectively to the right of the middle, and the left of the top, of the letter, and denoting the vowel "*o*." The name of the king on the coin I therefore take to be "*Dâḍokha*." If it were not that the letters of the legend appear to be a little too old, I might have been inclined to identify the "*Dâḍokha*" of the coin with the "*Dduddika*" of the copper-plate; for, as we find from the date of the copper-plate that *Brâhmana Deva* was living in the year A.D. 224, his great-grandfather, "*Dduddika*," must have been living till about A.D. 150, if we allow twenty-five years for a generation; while I attribute the coin bearing the name of "*Dâḍokha*" to a date at least a century and a half earlier, or to at least a century before the Christian era.

The only other of this class of coins which requires to be noticed separately by itself is a very small circular coin, bearing the name of "*Râmasa*," in characters of about the first century of the Christian era.

The remainder of *Buddhist Satrap* class of coins obtained at Indôr may be shortly described as follows :—

Two coins of "*Râmadata*," one of which is very much defaced. These coins appear to be found over a remarkably wide extent of country, as they have been also procured at *Mathura*, and I obtained one very perfect coin of *Râmadata* as far south as *Chitor*.

Two coins of *Rajubul*, on one of which the name alone is very plain, but the other coin is much worn and defaced, and the few indistinct letters which remain of the name read more like *Rabai*. General Cunningham supposes the Satrap "*Rajubul*" to have ruled over North-Western India, from about B.C. 120 to 80 B.C.; and he further considers him to have been the father of the Satrap *Ṣaudâsa*, whom he believes to have reigned between the years B.C. 70 and 57.[1]

Of the Satrap "*Ṣaudâsa*" I also obtained two coins at Indôr Khera. The name of the Satrap only is clear and distinct on both of the coins, and the rude human figure on the reverse of one of them is visible; but the remaining portions of the coins are worn down smooth and defaced.

I obtained nine or ten more coins of the Buddhist Satrap type, of which the legends were totally defaced and obliterated. One of these is of an oblong rectangular shape, and has the well-known figure of a horse on the reverse. Another has merely the first two letters, "*khat*," of the commencement of the legend, remaining.

Of the coins of the "*Indo-Scythic*" series, I obtained about twenty at Indôr, some of which were much corroded and defaced. Among these there were the following: One defaced coin of "*Wemo Kadphises*; one with the *running figure* on the reverse; one of "*Kanerki*," obverse legend obliterated, but with "*Athro*" on the reverse; five of the common degraded "*Ooerki*" tpye, with "*bull and attendant*" on reverse; one "*elephant rider*;" one (defaced) of the type which has the "*King sitting on clouds*;" two with "*King sitting side-ways*;" two with "*sitting female divinity*" on reverse; and one apparently of "BAZO ΔHO" (*Bazo Déo*),

[1] My conjecture that the Satrap Saudâsa was the "son" of the Satrap Rajubul has since been confirmed by a very curious inscription discovered by Pandit Bhagwân Lâl Indraji at Mathura.—*A. Cunningham.*

but the obverse, with legend, was totally defaced. Another very much defaced coin has the Greek letters "ONO," or ΘNW, remaining on one face, but which are more probably the remains of the common reverse legend, "*Athro*," as the letters "HO" are discernible on the other face.

The remaining coins consisted of two copper and six silver "*fire-altar*" coins; two or three much worn coins, with remains of the monogram "*Kto*" or "*Kato*" or "*Kota*;" two coins of "*Sri Pratâpa*;" one silver, one copper, and five mixed metal "*Varâha drammas*;" and a few silver and copper "*Bull* and *Horseman*" coins.[1]

I also obtained an ancient circular copper seal at Indôr, bearing a name in five letters, in characters of about the first century of the Christian era. Two of the letters are partially defaced by their lower portions having been somewhat eaten away by corrosion, which makes the reading of the name on the seal a little difficult and doubtful. But after a close and minute scrutiny, many times repeated, of the seal itself, as well as of numerous rubbings and impressions of it, I have come to the conclusion that the name on the seal may be read in any of the following ways:—"*Ṣrî Vejînnasi*," or *Ṣri Vejîn-vanshu*, or *Ṣri Veḍînvasi*, or *Ṣri Veḍinvanshu*, or *Ṣri Vermarvâsi*, or *Ṣri Vermarvânshu*. The first or initial letter of the name looks, at first sight, like the palatal *Ṣ* alone, with simply the lagmâtra for the long vowel *î*, attached at top, which would read as "*Ṣî*;" but on a closer scrutiny of numerous rubbings and impressions of the seal, there appears plainly to be a trace of the originally attached "*r*" below, but which now appears as a thin, faint, indistinct, stroke, with a small separate dot-like fragment beneath, owing to the bottom, or lower end, of the first limb of the letter "*Ṣ*" having been partially eaten away by corrosion, and therefore I read the first letter as "*Ṣri*." The second letter is quite perfect, and reads plainly and clearly as "*vè*." The third letter may be either a cerebral "*ḍ*" or a "*j*," or a ragged "*m*," which, has become blotchy and indistinct from corrosion. The bottom, and one side of the letter especially, has been eaten into and partially cut away by corrosion. There is a short curved stroke continuing downwards from the bottom of the letter, which might represent the vowel "*ŭ*." There is also a perpendicular stroke attached to the top of the letter, which

[1] NOTE.—I afterwards found fifteen half-silver, or mixed copper and silver, *Indo-Sassanian-fire-altar* coins in a small earthenware vessel, while excavating the remains of an ancient temple, in a mound to the west of *Indôr Khera*.

I take to be either the long vowel *î*, or else a "*rèf*," or superimposed "*r*." The fourth letter looks most like the letter "*n*," but may be an "*r*" with a straight horizontal stroke, at right angles, attached at bottom to the foot of the letter, for the vowel "*û*." There appears to be some trace of a vowel stroke, or *lagmâtra*, over the top of the letter. This letter is followed by a ragged round dot, which I take to be an "*anuswara;*" but if, on the other hand, this ragged dot be taken to be the remains of the top of a second limb of the preceding letter, then the whole, or the two together, must be read as the letter "*P*." Below, or underneath the last or fourth letter, there is a blotchy mark, which may be the defaced remains of some attached letter, such as "*v*" or "*t*," attached below. The fifth and last letter may be read either as *Si* or *shû*.

I sent some rubbings and impressions of this seal to General Cunningham, and he proposed to read the name simply as "*Śiva-dâsa*," that is, I presume, *Śiva-dâsasa*, in the Pali genitive case, as there are certainly five letters on the seal.

But I believe that I can now say confidently that the name cannot be read in that manner; for the fourth letter is certainly not an S. I myself incline to prefer one or other of my first two readings of "*Śri Vejînvasi*," or "*Śri Vejînvanshu*."

Besides the above, I also obtained two lumpily-shaped medallions, or seals, of some very hard, dark-coloured composition, like a mixture of lac and potter's clay, one of which bears an inscription, in characters of the Gupta period, which I read as "*Śri Mân vipra*," and the other bears a figure of the Varâha Avatâr of Vishnu.

But perhaps the most interesting of the smaller relics of antiquity which the soil of Indôr Khera yielded me, is the half of a rock-crystal gem, or, in other words, the half of a beautifully-engraved seal, in rock-crystal, which, from its fine and artistic execution, I fully believe to have been of Greek workmanship. The device on this seal represents a lion-headed human figure, in a sitting, or half-reclining, half-lounging position. A thick flowing mane spreads out on either side of the leonine head. The left knee (right on the seal) is raised, and the left arm (right on seal) rests naturally, or rather is thrown negligently, over the knee. A chain, of which each link is clearly visible, passes over the left shoulder, and in front of the left leg. There is a round object under

the arm which appears to me plainly to be the Greek letter ϴ ("theta"), which may probably, therefore, be the initial letter of the engraver's name, which may consequently possibly have been "*Thenòkratês.*" Under the hand, on the right margin of the seal, just where it is broken away, there is a portion of another Greek letter, which could only have been either the letter ∇, or ∇, or ∇ (Delta, or Lamda, or Alpha). This is evidently the first letter of an inscription which is unfortunately broken away. From the symbol of a chained, lion-headed figure, on the seal, and from the fact that the lost inscription, judging by the single letter of it remaining, may have commenced with the letter Λ L, I would conjecture that the name on the seal may have been *Leonîkos*, which would mean "the lion-conqueror;" and that the seal may therefore have belonged to a Greek, or Macedonian, officer. But how such a seal came to Indôr Khera, is a puzzle, seeing that, as yet, I have not been able to obtain a single genuine Bactrian Greek coin from Indôr, although Indo-Scythic coins were pretty plentiful.

I also got a small circular glass seal bearing the device of a six-leaved flower. Each leaf, or petal, of the flower is of a lozenge shape, with a round dot in the centre of each. This may possibly have been a Buddhist symbol, as I found a device, of a nearly similar kind, stamped on a *terra-cotta* toy figure of an animal, found at Indôr, and also on a circular brass boss.

Of copper rings, I got several fragments. I also obtained the following interesting relics in metal:—1, A long-handled copper ladle, much corroded; 2, a copper image of a human figure, which had lost the head; 3, a brazen key, with a handsome ornamental handle, shaped exactly like a lyre.

I moreover obtained numerous common gems, such as *beads*, *drops*, and *cut stones,* in *agate*, *cornelian*, *onyx*, white and coloured *rock crystal*, *&c*., *&c.* One small red cornelian ornament is in the form of a *horse*, which has lost the head and legs. One conical-shaped drop, cut on six sides, may perhaps be a *topaz*. It would be impossible here to describe the remainder of the small relics found at Indôr owing to their great number and variety. Among them, however, I may mention a flat oblong rectangular *chaupar* piece, with five spots formed of concentric circle; and also a flat ivory article, ornamented with circular marks, and shaped either like an arrow-head, or the half of a fish; but part of it was broken away, so that its original purpose could

not well be determined. I also found two spindle-shaped ivory or bone implements, thick in the middle and pointed at each end. General Cunningham seems to have found objects of exactly the same shape at *Bitha*; but those obtained by me at Indôr were smoothly polished, while those found by General Cunningham appear to have been roughly cut. I believe them to be "*tree-nails*" for joining planks of wood, as *iron* ones, of exactly the *same shape*, are made by the natives at the present day.

Of ancient pottery-ware I obtained numerous specimens, as well as some *terra-cotta figures* and fragments of ornamentally-moulded or carved bricks, intended to form architectural patterns on buildings.

Perhaps the most curious relic in the way of pottery obtained at Indôr is part of the mouth and side of a large earthen-ware vessel, bearing Buddhist symbols stamped on it, which originally encircled the neck of the vessel. These consist of the Buddhist symbol of Dharma, *i. e.*, a trisûl, with the ends fleury, with a circle below and the circular figure of an expanded lotus flower occurring alternately. Beneath these there is a band of three lines, and beneath that a border consisting of a series of semi-circles.[1]

I also obtained a red burnt clay die, for stamping cloth, which bore a floral festoon pattern, deeply cut into it. At the back there is a raised ridge, intended as a handle for holding the stamp.

Of earthen-ware vessels I obtained a great number of various sizes and shapes; some shaped like tea-pots, with narrow necks and spouts; some small and round, with narrow necks; others wide-mouthed, with slightly rounded or nearly flat bottoms; and others shaped like bowls or cups, wide at top, but with very narrow bottoms, and some of the smaller vessels of this kind were very *fine* and *thin*. I found a great quantity of these small-bottomed wide-mouthed vessels together in a mass in a curious manner. During the rains, I made some excavations within the shelter of an empty house, in the village of Indôr, and came upon some ancient foundations composed of large bricks. In one corner, at a depth of between 4 and 5 feet, I came upon the top of a large erect hollow earthen-ware cylinder, which was 2 feet 8 inches in diameter. On digging down to a further depth, I

[1] See Plate VII, figure 1. The Buddhist symbol on the left seems to be composed of the *Tri-ratna*, or "Three-gem" figure placed above the *Dharma-chakra* figure, or "wheel of Religion."—*A. Cunningham.*

found that this cylinder extended to the depth of about 3 feet 6 inches, and I found, moreover, that it was not of one solid piece, but that it was composed of five separate successive circular pieces, placed one above the other, and cemented together at the joins, each piece being about 8½ inches in depth, and at each join there was a narrow projecting band, or flange. I tried to remove this cylinder, either entire or in parts, but as soon as the attempt to move it was made, it fell to pieces. I found that this cylinder was filled with a firmly-packed mixture of hard yellow clay, fragments of brick, and a great number of narrow-bottomed earthen-ware dishes, of the kind which I have previously described. It is difficult to divine what was the original purpose of this cylinder. If it was meant for storing grain in, then how did it come to be filled with a lot of earthenware *dishes*, mixed up, hickelty-pickelty, with broken bricks and hard-packed clay? The cylinder was evidently very ancient, as it was imbedded in hard, tough clay, which looked as firm and natural as if it had never been disturbed.

Of *terra-cotta* figures I obtained several at Indôr, and three or four of them were really worth keeping, although none of them were perfect, but all of them more or less broken or deficient in some portion. The most interesting of these *terra-cotta* relics is a small half figure of *Maya*, the mother of Buddha, standing under the *Sâl* tree. The lower half of the figure is wanting, from the waist downwards, but the upper portion of the figure, which remains, is exceedingly well executed. The face is remarkably good for a red clay figure of this kind, and there is a grace and softness about the breast and arms. Only a small portion of the left arm remains, but the right arm is perfect, and is raised gracefully above the head; and a few leaves of the *Sâl* tree are rather roughly and indistinctly represented below the hand. There are bracelets on the arms, and there is a necklace round the neck, very minutely represented. The head is adorned with a peculiar Buddhist head-dress, a portion of which spreads out over the crown of the head, and from which two ornamental knobs project on either side, just over the ears, and two pendants, terminating in round knots, hang down to the shoulders. The portion of the figure which remains is about 2½ inches in height, so that the entire original height of the figure, when perfect, must have been about 6 inches.

Besides the above, I obtained two small well-executed bust figures of women in *terra-cotta*, the lower portions of

the figures having been broken away. One of these half figures is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, the head alone being an inch and three quarters. The head is adorned with tresses forming a succession of undulating rolls, which descend, in a thick mass, to the shoulders, and a small portion of the hair is turned over from the back of the head on to the crown. The profile is prominent, but the nose is broken; the forehead is low, and sloping back; the eye-brows are much arched, and the eyes are very large and full, and the eye-balls strongly marked. There is a broad round band round the lower part of the neck. Altogether this head and bust has an appearance very foreign to India, and I believe it to be Indo-Scythian.

Of the second small *terra-cotta* female figure, the upper half remains, down to the waist, but it is much smaller than the other figure above described, it being only $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. I consider this small female figure to be an imitation of Grecian art, as every characteristic about it is of a Grecian type. The head of this figure is turned slightly round to one side, as if the face were looking towards some object, and the eyes appear to be looking in the same direction. The head is gracefully set on the shoulders, which are very sloping, and the bust is very prominent. The face is still rather pretty, although the nose has become somewhat flattened and worn. The mouth is small. The eyes are long and the pupils well marked, but the exterior lines of the eyelids are rather clumsily and coarsely marked. The forehead is very flat and receding. The front hair is formed into a wreath of flat round curls, which descend to the shoulders. The back hair is twisted up into a large Grecian knot. The ears are covered by the hair, but large bulky ear-rings are visible. There is a fringed ornamental band which passes across in front of the lower part of the neck, and which looks very much like a lady's collar. I think that this small female figure may very probably have been an Indo-Scythic imitation of Grecian art.

I obtained also a very curious flat-shaped human face, in *terra-cotta*, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, or about one-third of life size, and which must have been broken off from some *terra-cotta* statue, in relief, which would not have been less than 2 feet in height. This head is decidedly Buddhist, as it is surmounted by a characteristic Buddhist head-dress, the puffy folds of which curve inwards towards the centre of the fore-head. On the middle of the upper

part of the front of the fore-head there is a circular, wheel-shaped, rosette, and from this rosette a band proceeds backwards over the top of the head. The features of the face are very regular, and the eyes have a slight Yuranian slant. I am very much inclined to think that this head may have belonged to a figure executed in bold relief, on a Buddhist railing pillar, made of red burnt clay, or *terra-cotta*, as, for want of stone, and with plenty of stiff adhesive clay on the spot, it would be very easy to mould either a short four-sided pillar, or a bas-relief, out of clay; and, from the fact of my having found numerous fragments of ornamentally-moulded bricks, as well as a *terra-cotta* figure of *Maya devi* (the mother of Buddha), I think it is very probable that there may have been some kind of *Buddhist shrine* or small stûpa, at Indôr, built of brick, and ornamented with figures and bas reliefs in *terra-cotta*. I have already mentioned that I found Buddhist symbols even on a piece of pottery as well as on a broken *terra-cotta* figure of an animal.

The broken figure of an animal in *terra-cotta*, on which there are circular symbols stamped, as above referred to, is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, but the head and legs are broken off. There are two circular symbols stamped on the shoulders, which bear a near resemblance to the symbol which appears on the reverse of the ancient punch-marked coins found on the site of the ancient city of Taxila, to the north of the Panjâb, and a nearly similar symbol may be found in Plate X, Figure D, of General Cunningham's illustrations of Mathura antiquities, in Volume III of the Reports of the Archæological Survey, only that, in the symbols on the shoulders of the *terra-cotta* figure found by me at Indôr, there are seven ornamental semi-circles surrounding the centre, instead of only four, as in General Cunningham's figure. There are also two circular symbols stamped on the haunches of the figure, each of which contains a cross, the angles of which are filled up with dots.

The remaining relics in *terra-cotta* may shortly be enumerated as follows: A figure of an elephant with a man riding on it. Several small human figures, and also small figures of various animals, more especially of the bull *Nandi*, and also a black *terra-cotta* figure of a parrot. Also a square-based, pyramidal-shaped stamp, for stamping cloth, the device on the base being composed simply of small squares. Lastly, I obtained a cubical clay die (one of a pair of dice) with the spots rudely marked on it, and also several circular, or dice-

shaped, *chaupar* or *pachîsi* pieces, made of burnt clay.[1] Of the fragments of ornamentally-moulded or carved bricks which I found at *Indôr*, some bore floral patterns, others lozenge-shaped figures, and some a series of small oblong squares, breaking bond.

I also found a good many sculptures in stone at Indôr, but most of these were of small size. The largest sculptures were the following:—

A gurgoyle, or stone spout, terminating with an animal's head, with open mouth, like that of a lion or tiger. Length, 1 foot 5 inches; thickness, 7 inches; width, 8 inches; in red sand-stone. This must have belonged to some temple.

A dark-coloured stone, with some small human figures sculptured on it. Length, 2 feet 9 inches; breadth, 1 foot; thickness, 4 inches. Probably a fragment of some old temple destroyed.

A sculptured block of *kankar* stone, which, from its appearance, probably belonged to the side of an ancient gateway, as it was dug up at a spot where one of the gates of ancient *Indrapûra* must once have stood. This stone is ornamented with a handsomely-sculptured leaf and scroll pattern.

A figure of a female divinity, in a sitting position, with an attendant figure standing by her side, and in the act of presenting a vessel of water, to fill a cup which the sitting female divinity holds in her right hand. This sculpture is in bold relief, on a square slab of red sand-stone, 1 foot 2 inches in height, by 11 inches in width, and 3½ inches in thickness.

The bust of a female figure, in red sand-stone, which has lost the head and the lower portion of the body. This fragment of sculpture is 6½ inches in height by 8 inches in width across the shoulders.

Of the small sculptures in stone, it will be unnecessary for me to enumerate the whole, and I shall therefore only describe those which are in any way remarkable or interesting. The largest of these smaller sculptures represents a five-headed, four-armed divinity, sitting upon a goose. In the

[1] Since writing the above, I have obtained two other small curiosities worth mentioning, as they are both inscribed. One of them is a piece of glazed pottery, or rude China-ware, which is inscribed with six letters. The other is a fragment of a shell ornament, with two copper rivets run through it, and inscribed with a few characters. [The piece of white glazed crockery seems to me to be dated in the year 827. The two latter figures are quite certain. See plate VII, fig. 2.—*A. Cunningham.*]

upper right hand there is a thick, short, conical-shaped club. The lower right hand grasps the string and arrow of a bow, the bow itself being held by the lower left hand. The upper left hand holds an object which looks something like a mason's square. This sculpture is in red sand-stone. Height, 10 inches; breadth, 6 inches.

The next most interesting of the small sculptures are three pieces executed on somewhat thin fragments of a kind of stone like blue and grey slaty limestone. One of these is 4½ inches in length by 2¾ inches in width. This sculpture represents a beautiful and well-executed figure of an antelope in a sitting position. To the rear of the antelope there is a circular lotus flower, with a bud appearing above it. There is the remains of an iron nail, or rivet, in the stone, which pierces the lower edge of the stone through and through. Another of these fragments has the lotus flower and bud repeated, but this time in front of an antelope's head, the body of which is broken away. The third fragment bears the full figure of an elephant, and the half figure of a tiger, which, when perfect, must have been as big as the elephant. The tiger is represented as springing up, with open mouth, towards the elephant's head, and one of the tiger's paws is placed against the elephant's trunk. The upper portions, or upper edges, of all these three fragments, are distinctly curved, and the degree of curve is the same on each fragment; and the lower line on which the animals stand is curved in the same manner. Now these curves, if continued in the same degree, would form a circle. I therefore believe these three pieces to be fragments of the outer edge, or ornamented border, or rim, of one single, thin circular stone disc, or *chakra*, which must once have formed a glory, or *nimbus*, round or at the back of the head of a large statue, such, for instance, as the circular discs which are always found attached to the back of the head of standing figures of *Buddha*. In this instance, therefore, the circular stone disc, of which these three fragments once formed a part, must have been adorned with an ornamentally-sculptured border band, representing, in alternate succession, figures of antelopes, lotus flowers, elephants, and tigers; and there may have been other kinds of animals and devices represented on other fragments of the stone which are lost and wanting. But as there is the remnant of an iron nail, or rivet, passing completely through the lower broken portion of one of these fragments, I think that the whole sculpture, when entire, along

with the statue to which it was attached, must have formed a large *bas-relief,* which was attached to the wall of some building by iron rivets.

I also obtained a small and much mutilated but interesting fragment of sculpture, in white sand-stone, which represented simply the fingers only of the left hand of a statue of *Buddha*, grasping a fold of drapery. Judging by the size of the fingers, the statue to which they belonged must have been at least one-third, or perhaps one-half, of life-size. There cannot be the slightest doubt whatever about the identification of this fragment as a portion of the left hand of an erect statue of Bhuddha, grasping a fold of the drapery of his dress, as the hand occurs exactly in this position in every statue that has ever been found which represents *Buddha* standing, in the attitude of teaching, with the right hand raised, and the left hand holding up the skirt of his dress. This mere fragment is therefore a perfectly sufficient proof that a large statue of *Buddha* must once have existed at *Indôr*.

I may also here notice two small flat fragments of sculpture, found at Indôr, each of which retained only the head portion of a human figure, very neatly executed, in what appears to be a kind of slaty limestone. One of these is very finely finished, and represents, apparently, a *Buddhist* head (or perhaps even a head of *Buddha*) under a sort of rounded canopy on which there is a sort of rayed figure, like the sun, very shallowly engraved. The face has very regular, straight features, and the head is surmounted by a round-topped head-dress, apparently representing folds of cloth, one above the other, and getting smaller and smaller towards the top, and three folds, or lappets, hang down on either side over the ears. The other small head has the half of a rayed disc, or glory, behind it; but the head-dress is peculiar, it having very much the appearance of a flat-topped fur cap, with triangular lappets hanging down over the ears. To the right, the head of some animal appears from behind.

Another small sculpture, in black slaty limestone, represents the figure of a *rhinoceros*.

Another fragment of sculpture, in red sand-stone, represents apparently a Hindu *Kumbh*, or water-vessel, with a bunch of undulating objects spreading forth out of the top, or mouth, of the vessel. The central portion of the bunch is almost like part of an ornamental floral Buddhist *trisúl;* but one of the outer portions, to the right, appears to terminate with the head of an animal.

I also found a small fragment of sculpture, bearing the figures of three of the *Avatârs* of Vishnu, namely, the *Narasingha Avatâr*, with the head broken off; the *Matsya Avatâr;* and the *Varâha Avatâr*, of which only the head remained.

In my excavations at Indôr I came upon many ancient foundations of buildings, and the remains of ruined buried walls, which were composed of very large bricks—the largest of the entire specimens of these ancient bricks measured 1 foot 8 inches in length, by 9½ inches in breadth, and 2½ inches in thickness. A somewhat wider, but shorter, brick measured 1 foot 4 inches in length, by 10 inches in breadth, and 2½ inches in thickness. But I also found fragments of much thicker bricks, one of which measured 10 inches in breadth by 4 inches in thickness. The original length of this brick could not be ascertained on account of its being broken. At the southern edge of the great *khera*, some wedge-shaped bricks were dug up, which must have belonged to some circular building. These bricks measured 1 foot and 1 inch in length, by 9½ inches across at the broadest end, and 6½ inches across at the narrow end, and 2½ inches in thickness. I also got a curious square brick, with a circle described on one face of it, and a round hole pierced through the centre; while on the other face of the brick there are four round, equi-distant hollows near the corners, which do not penetrate through.

There were, however, some of these ancient bricks which deserve special notice by themselves on account of the peculiar marks which were impressed on them, namely, the impressions of the feet of living beings which had trodden on these bricks when they were in a soft state, probably some two thousand years ago! One of the largest and most ancient of these bricks bore the impression of the whole of one paw, and part of another, of a leopard. The indentation of the sharp claws, reaching beyond, and in front of the soft parts of the toes, was perfectly distinct. The impression of the entire paw measured 3½ inches in length by 2½ inches in breadth. We thus learn that in ancient times there were leopards in the neighbourhood of Indrapûra, and that, during the night, they actually walked over the soft bricks which the brickmaker had been making during the day. Another brick had the marks of two paws, probably of a wolf, but perhaps of a young leopard. One of the impressions was very plain, while the other was indistinct. One of the paws had been

drawn side-ways by the animal, along the surface of the brick, leaving the slur of one of the toes and the score of one of the claws. The most perfect of these foot-prints measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth. Another brick bore the impressions of the hoofs of a deer (probably a Sambur) and its young one. I judge by the shape and size of the larger hoof-mark that it must have belonged to a large deer, and not to an antelope. The larger hoof-mark measured $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by nearly 2 inches in breadth, while the smaller hoof-marks of the young one measured only an inch and a half in length by an inch to an inch and a quarter in breadth. Another brick, part of which was broken away, but which was 4 inches in thickness, had three curved lines marked on it by the fingers of the brick-maker; but between two of these curved lines there was the distinct print of the hoof of either a goat or an antelope, and there was a fainter impression of a second hoof alongside of it. Another brick had actually been broken in two by the spring of an antelope; for the brick was broken with a rough, fractured edge, just where the animal's hoof had penetrated deeply into the soft clay, and this fracture was ancient! The print of the hoof actually cuts down the broken side of the brick to the depth of two inches! Now, nothing but the springing bound of an antelope upon the brick when in a soft state could have done this! One might therefore almost suppose that the leopard, the print of whose paws and claws I found on another brick, was in pursuit of an antelope which, in making a desperate bound to escape, lighted on the top of a brick and broke it in two! But perhaps the most interesting of the bricks which were marked in this manner was one which bore the print of a small human foot, probably the foot of a child. This human foot-print measured only 7 inches in length by over 3 inches in breadth at the spread of the toes. Now, on comparing the measurement of this human foot-print with the dimensions of my own foot, I found that my own foot measured $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches at its greatest breadth, under the ball of the foot. The foot-print on the brick is therefore that of a very short human foot, which is remarkably broad in proportion to its length; for I found that the foot of a native woman, which was measured by my direction, measured $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth at the spread of the toes; while the foot of a native man measured 10 inches in length by $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth at the spread of the toes. From these facts, therefore, I conclude that the

human foot-print on the brick must have been that of a boy or a girl who had always gone bare-footed, which caused an excessive spread of the foot in proportion to its length. And one might imagine that the brick-maker's son or daughter had accidentally trodden upon a soft brick which he had just made. As this human foot-print was on one of the very largest and most ancient bricks dug up in a very deep excavation, it must have been that of a young person who lived probably about two thousand years ago.

The great Khèra mound of *Indôr* is in outline a sort of irregular oblông, with slightly-curved sides and rounded angles. From the upper edge on one side to the upper edge on the other it measured about 850 feet from north to south, by about 1,250 feet from east to west; while, from near the bottom of the slope on one side, to near the bottom of the slope on the other side, it measured about 950 feet across from north to south, by about 1,350 to 1,400 feet from east to west. The perpendicular height of this great Khèra mound, at the highest point, towards the east, cannot be less than about fully 70 feet at least above the surrounding fields; while, at other parts, towards the north and south, its perpendicular height varies from 40 to 50 and 60 feet. The mean height of the great Khèra mound may therefore be taken to be about 55 feet. The highest part of the Khèra mound runs like a ridge along the centre from east to west, and the highest points are towards the east and west respectively. Towards the eastern part of the Khèra, and to the south side of the village, there was a high conical crest, or mound, on the very top of the Khèra, which was visible from a great distance.[1]

The present small village of *Indôr* is situated on the east-north-eastern side of the great Khèra mound, part of the village being on the upper edge of the Khèra mound and part down the slope, and the village runs down the slope until it meets the fields below. But the village occupies a total area of only about 500 feet from east to west, by about 500 feet from north to south.

There is a deep sloping hollow on the western side of the Khèra mound, which represents the site of one of the ancient gates of the city of Indrapûra, and at the side of this hollow I dug up a large ornamentally-carved block of kankar stone, which, from its appearance, must have belonged to one

[1] NOTE.—I say "was," because this mound was excavated by me.

of the side corners of the ancient gateway. There is another low depression, and also a very deep nalla, or ravine, cutting down the whole length of its centre, on the north-north-eastern side of the Khèra mound, where a second gate of the ancient city certainly stood, and the outer entrance to which appears to have been defended by an out-work, consisting of a curtain wall and a bastion, some ruined traces of which still remain. As there is also a sort of concavity, or curved indentation, on the eastern side, just about the centre of the present village, I believe that there must have been a third gateway at this point which would about face towards the present high road which runs between Anûpshahar and Koel. There is also a fourth depression on the south side of the Khèra.

I consider that ancient Indrapûra must have been a fortified city, or rather a great earthwork platform, surrounded by a parapet wall along the upper edges, to which a lower outer faussebraie, or raoni, was afterwards added; and that a compact, closely-built town, with a citadel and palaces towards the eastern end, was contained within. Of the original upper wall nothing whatever now remains; but wherever excavations have been made at the upper edge of the great mound, or wherever any portions of the bank have been cut away by heavy rains, traces of an ancient wall, composed of large bricks (generally without mortar) have been found. At four points below the northern edge there are detached ruined fragments of a lower outer fortification wall, which I consider to have constituted a faussebraie, or raoni, added at a much later period, as the bricks are small and embedded in masses of tough mortar. This portion of the fortification may probably have been added by the *Dôr* Rajas. But it does not seem to have ever been completed, and, as I stated before, only a few detached ruined fragments of it remain.

The old fortified city of Indrapûra could never have been hollow within, that is, the houses of the city could never have been situated on low ground enclosed within any ramparts higher than the interior area, and the houses could never have been hidden by the outer fortifications; but the ancient city would seem to have been situated on an interiorly high raised earthwork platform, so that the tops of the houses must have overlooked, or been visible from outside, over the fortifications. And as prolonged and successive inhabitation, or perhaps even several successive cities, built the one over the ruins of the former, created a constant and ever-increas-

ing accumulation of débris, the middle of the plateau gradually increased in height until it became much higher than the sides. And now the central portion of the great Khèra mound of Indôr is actually much higher than the sides, except at two points near its eastern and western ends, where the greatest elevation approaches towards the edges. Now this peculiarity of the most ancient Hindu fortified sites, situated on plains, namely, that the centre of the fortress is not a hollow, or not lower within than the fortifications without, or, in other words, that there is no outer encircling rampart higher than the area within, but that the centre is either almost even with, or about on a level with, the sides, or, if anything, slightly more elevated than the sides, as in the case of *Sânkara* on the Budh Ganga; or that the middle is higher than the sides, as in the case of Indôr; or that the raised earth-work rises by successive step-like terraces, or gradations, from the sides towards the centre, as in the case of Tawhar-pûr near Ahâr, or as in the case of a small portion remaining of some kind of a step-like fortification at Nagar, in Râjpûtâna;—this peculiarity, I repeat, I hold to be a characteristic of one of the most ancient forms of Hindu fortification, applicable either to fortified towns, such as Indrapûra was, or as Lâkhanû (near Hâtras) still is, or to separate forts, such as the old fort of *Sânkara*, or to sacred sites requiring defence, such as Tawhar-pûr.

I mentioned previously that on the very top of the great Khèra of Indôr, towards the eastern, or rather east-south-eastern part of it, and close to the south side of the present village of Indôr, there was a conspicuous, nearly circular, conical-shaped mound. This mound had a mean diameter of about 80 feet, giving a circumference of about 240 feet. The perpendicular height of the mound at the centre, before I made any excavations in it, was about 20 feet. Thinking, from the shape and general appearance of the mound, that it might possibly contain the remains of a Buddhist stûpa, I commenced to make excavations in the top of it; but I was greatly surprised to find instead that I had uncovered the remains of, perhaps, the most extraordinary building that the constructive ingenuity of man could possibly devise. I cannot describe the plan of this building better than by saying that it exhibited a perfect net-work of walls, of all shapes and sizes, crossing one another and running in all directions, without any kind of regularity whatever, and apparently not applicable to any known kind of building, or to any possible

purpose that could be dreamed of. And, moreover, the interspaces, or small chambers (if they could be so called), between the intercrossing walls were of all shapes and sizes, and not one of them of any regular shape, or that could serve any known purpose whatever, some of them being many-sided and of an irregular shape, others having four unequal sides, others triangular, others having either one or two of the sides slightly curved, and one being of a long, narrow, oblong shape. But it is a fact worthy of remark that not one of these small chambers had any communication whatever with any of the others; but that they were all completely divided off from one another by the intervening walls. In a space of about 35 feet square, I counted about fourteen different walls, and about ten separate small chambers. Of the walls, the thickest was about 8 feet in breadth; another was 5 feet in breadth; another varied in breadth from 3 feet 6 inches to 2 feet 4 inches; another wall, which ran due north and south, was 3 feet 9 inches in breadth towards the two ends, but it had a projection about the middle, on the east side, which made it 4 feet 9 inches in breadth at that part. Two other walls were respectively 2 feet 3 inches and 2 feet in breadth, and the narrowest wall was 1 foot 9 inches in breadth. Of the small chambers, or hollow cells, or interspaces between the walls, some were of very small dimensions, and all of different and very irregular shapes. The dimensions of the smallest of them was 6 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 5, by 4 feet, by 1 foot 6. Another was 10 feet, by 8 feet 9 inches, by 6 feet, by 2 feet. Another had two straight sides, and a third side crooked, or turning off, about the middle, with a short curved angle outwards, and then running on again straight, the two straight sides being 7 feet 5 inches and 4 feet, respectively; and the third side running for 5 feet in a straight line, then turning at a short angle for 1 foot 4 inches, and then running again straight for 3 feet 9 inches. One long narrow interspace, between the only two walls that ran parallel, was only 1 foot 5 inches in width, by 22 feet in length to where it was cut off at each end by two other *cross* walls. Another chamber was triangular, the sides measuring respectively 20 feet, by 17 feet 5 inches, by 7 feet 2 inches. The largest was 29 feet in length by about 14 in breadth.

There was a remarkable peculiarity about the longest and the most central of the walls, which ran in a direction, by the compass, from north-north-east-one-quarter-north-east to south-south-west-one-quarter-south-west. The total

length of this wall was nearly 25 feet, with a breadth of about 5 feet and upwards; and four walls, enclosing three small cells or chambers, branched off from it, at various angles and at different points, on its west-north-western sides, and an equal number of walls branched off in various directions, from nearly one point, on its east-south-eastern side. This main wall was perpendicular on its east-south-eastern side, but its west-north-western side sloped outwardly, downwards, with a gradual step-like batter, and this sloping side descended thus into three separate cells, or small chambers. And, moreover, a short wall, 4 feet thick at top, and which was cut off by another wall at a distance of only 4 feet, had a similar sloping batter on its southern side, while it was perpendicular on its northern side. What could be the purpose of this sloping batter on one side only of two cross walls, and where these sloping sides descended into a series of small enclosed pit-like cells, it is difficult to imagine. In fact, this whole confused net-work of walls of all shapes and sizes, was a complete puzzle to me.

On making further excavations in this mound, other walls were discovered, extending still further, in various directions. Numerous ornamentally-moulded bricks were also dug up. Some of these bricks bore floral devices; others represented small corbels or brackets; and there were a great number of bricks cut, or moulded, into several sides, and which must evidently have once belonged to an octagonal pillar built of brick.[1]

Almost on the very centre of the great Khèra, there is an elevated, rectangular, oblong-shaped mound, which measured 130 feet in length from north to south by 90 feet in breadth from east to west. I made an excavation in this mound, and immediately came upon a pavement formed of squared blocks of kankar overlaid with a thick coating of mortar. I cut through this pavement, and excavated to a considerable depth, but without finding anything, except old bricks, pottery, and a small fragment of sculpture, and also one corroded coin. This great oblong-shaped mound is evidently the site of some former large building, of middle age, which may have been either a palace or a masjid.

[1] NOTE.—I was informed that in the top surface of the mound, a circular platform of masonry was discovered some years ago, which covered over the cells and walls beneath, which remained as they were until I cleared them out. But the villagers had demolished the upper platform piecemeal for the sake of the bricks. See Plate VI.

There is another very high point, on the great Khèra, about 300 feet in, from its north-western end; and the ground about this point is full of bricks, and the remains of foundations of buildings. Close to this there was a square ruined building, which had originally been surmounted by a low dome, which had fallen in. This building was 18 feet square exteriorly, and had walls 3 feet 8 inches in thickness. It was built of small bricks, with strong mortar. This building is said to have been built over a satti. I had this building repaired and temporarily roofed in for my own use.

At the head of the great nalla, or ravine, which runs down towards the north-north-east-a-quarter-north-east, and 95 feet distant towards the north from the great oblong mound before mentioned, there is a small shrine, or temple, about 8 feet square, which contains a lingam of Mahadeo. This shrine appears to be only of middle age.

In the eastern side of the great nalla, or ravine, before mentioned, which runs down the north-north-eastern side of the Khèra, I made some excavations, and at a depth of nearly 18 feet from the top surface, I laid bare the walls of an ancient building which were composed of very large ancient Hindu bricks, which measured from 1 foot 4 to 1 foot 9 inches in length, by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It was an irregular-shaped building, with a re-entering angle on the south-eastern side, and appeared to have been originally surrounded by a high outer wall. The walls of this building were 2 feet 3 inches in thickness. The interior area of the central building gave the following measurements:—13 feet 7 inches, by 9 feet 6 inches; the two re-entering sides measuring, respectively, 6 feet and 4 feet 10 inches. The entrance was on the northern side. I would conjecture that this ancient building may have been the house of a military officer in charge of the guard of the northern gate of the ancient fortified city of Indrapûra, as it immediately faced the point where the gate must have stood. In a higher fragment of outer wall, which rose close to the southern side of the building, there were three or four of the lower courses of bricks, set nearly on end, in a slanting direction, which may have been intended to prevent the sliding down of a wall built on a slope.

On the southern side of Indôr Khèra there is an indigo factory.

Having now described everything worthy of notice on the great Khèra itself, I will now proceed to the notice

of four mounds which lie out in the fields to the north-north-east. At the distance of about 137 feet from the north-north-eastern side of the great Khèra of Indôr, an apparently ancient narrow causeway road, paved with bricks, commences. This road runs nearly due north for about 300 feet until it meets the course of the Choya Nadi. The channel of this small water-course is about 45 feet broad at this point, but it is only filled with water during the rains, while at other times of the year it remains dry. During the rains, however, this channel becomes a torrent, and the water often floods the surrounding fields. The Choya Nadi has two sources, or main feeders; namely, one which rises to the north of Say-anah, to the north-north-east of the Bulandshahar District, and runs past Mâlikpur and Indôr. The other, or western feeder, rises somewhere to the north of the Bulandshahar District, near Bahâdarnagar, and runs past Aurangâbâd and Dânpûr. These two feeders form a junction to the south-west, near Dhubhai; and the Choya Nadi runs thence until it joins the Kâli Nadi, half-way between Koriaganj and Khasganj.

But to return to the eastern branch, or feeder, of the Choya Nadi, which runs a little over 600 feet to the north of Indôr Khèra. One hundred and twenty-three feet to the north of the Choya Nadi, and 737 feet to the north-north-east from Indôr Khèra, there is a mound, full of fragments of old bricks, which measured 130 feet from east to west, by 118 feet from north to south. Eighty-five feet to the west-north-west from the last-named mound there is another small mound, which measured about 45 feet across each way. Again, 140 feet to the east-south-east from the larger mound first mentioned, there is a third much smaller mound, which measured 39 feet by 32 feet along two of its sides. Lastly, 400 feet to the north-a-quarter-north-north-east from the first-named large central mound, there is a fourth mound, which measured 95 feet by 77 feet across. This last mound occupies the apex of a nearly isosceles triangle, with the two smaller mounds at each of the other two angles, and the largest mound standing on the base. Two of these four mounds are traditionally said to have been the sites of ancient buildings, probably of temples; and I should not wonder if one of them should eventually turn out to have been the site of a temple of some kind, or perhaps even of a Buddhist stûpa. At any rate, two of the mounds are full of fragments of old bricks, and it was from near one of these mounds that I obtained a sculpture,

in red sand-stone, of a five-headed divinity previously described.[1] These four mounds are situated exactly opposite to the spot where the northern gate of the ancient city of Indrapûra must once have stood. One of the smaller mounds appears to be principally composed of ashes, and may probably therefore be the remains of a pazawah, or pazaya, or a kiln where either bricks or pottery were burned.

About 300 feet to the east from the village of Indor, in the fields, near a well and a very large Pipal tree, there is a small round-topped mound, which measured about 250 feet in circumference, and which is said to have been the site of an ancient temple. On this mound I found a number of fragments of sculpture collected together. These consisted of portions of legs, bodies, and heads of statues, of various sizes, of male and female divinities, and other smaller sculptures. Judging by the proportions of the largest fragment, the figure to which it belonged must have been a statue about half life-size. All the fragments appeared to have belonged to figures of Brahmanical divinities, with the exception of two, a large head in red sandstone, and a very small head, with a portion of the right arm raised, in a kind of slaty limestone,—both of which appeared to me to be Buddhist.

About 1,550 feet to the north-east from the last-mentioned mound, and about 1,850 feet to the east-north-east-half-north-east from the village of Indôr, there are the remains of the sites of two ancient temples, and of an old tank, which is now dry, and partly ploughed up into fields. These sites are situated on the left bank of the channel called the Choya Nadi, and no doubt, at those times when the channel contained water, it was directed into the old tank. There are also traces —consisting of some low mounds, and bare ground always left waste, strewed here and there with fragments of brick—of there having been some kind of village, or small settlement, here, formerly—probably a Brahman settlement connected with the temples; and the extent of the site on which there are traces of former habitation, reaches at one point quite up to the line of road which runs from Anupshahar to Koel. In fact, the ancient city proper of Indrapûra, which was probably confined by an encircling fortification parapet wall to the present elevated Khèra mound of Indôr, most likely constituted simply the Shahr-panâh of the Kshatriya chief, or raja; while

[1] NOTE.—This spot, or locality, is said to have been the site of a sort of suburb in ancient times, and which was anciently called "Vaidya-pûra."

suburbs and hamlets extended out from it, on the lower ground, on every side.

Of the site now under consideration, the only important points are the traces of the foundations of two temples before referred to. These are situated, the one to the north-west of the other, at the distance of about 350 feet from each other. The easterly one of the two consists of a slightly-raised platform of earth and bricks, the sides of which measured 22 feet by 40. This is probably the site of some very ancient temple of pretty large size. On the east side of this platform there is a portion remaining of the actual foundations of an old temple, which form an irregular figure, with a re-entering angle on the north-west side, making thus six sides in all, which measured, respectively, 22 feet by 22, by 10, by 10, by 12 feet. In the centre of this there is now a large lingam of Mahadev, and the whole upper surface is plastered with clay. The masonry is hollow underneath, and the hollow place below may be entered through a hole by creeping on all fours. In this position women now perform a sort of peripatetic worship, by creeping round the interior of the hollow place. Near this there is a small, low, square, ruined building; and a little further off there is a long-shaped modern building, constituting a sort of *dâlân*, or small serai. Both of these buildings are composed of large ancient bricks, gathered from the spot, and in the long building I discovered some ornamentally-moulded or carved bricks.

The other temple site is situated about 350 feet to the south-east from the above, and on the very edge of what was once a tank or pond. On this site there is said formerly to have been a temple dedicated to Siva. There are now two or three large fragments of masonry, hurled to one side, as if by some explosion of gun-powder; but this may merely have been the work of railway contractors in search of bricks. The bricks, however, of which the fragments are composed, are small and imbedded in strong mortar, and therefore I do not think that the destroyed building can have been older than the early part of the Muhammudan period. The traces of the foundations measured 23 feet by 19. It is surrounded on three sides by a high bank of earth, covering an area of 132 feet by 117 feet.

About 400 feet to the west from this there is a very old well, built of large ancient bricks, under a pipal tree.

Finally, the last point of particular interest which I have to notice in connection with Indrapûra and its environs, consists of a site, composed of a double range of lower mounds, situated about 700 feet to the north-west from the great Khèra of Indôr.

This site is divided into two parts by a low piece of ground from 350 feet to 400 feet in breadth, and which was evidently originally a tank; each of these parts is irregular in shape, and without any traces of any marked boundaries whatever. The nearest portion of this site consisted of a circular-shaped round-topped mound, about 160 feet in breadth, or about 480 feet in circumference, and about 17 feet in height. I was told that there was an ancient building buried in this mound, and that some railway contractor had been digging out bricks from it. On visiting the spot myself, I found that an excavation, about 10 feet square, had been made in the top of the mound, and I found very large-sized ancient Hindu bricks lying scattered about in every direction. On enlarging this excavation, I came upon a sort of floor, or pavement, composed of large bricks, and on clearing away this, I laid bare six walls, which reached to a depth of a few feet further. On making further excavations, I found that I was gradually uncovering the remains of an ancient temple of large size, it being about 130 feet in length by about 100 feet in breadth, and I also discovered an ancient well in the temple, which I cleared out; and I found a great number of sculptures of various ages, the most of which I obtained from the well, and some from various parts of the temple.

From the west and north-west side of this mound, a piece of sloping ground, covered with fragments of brick and pottery, extends for about 375 feet in length, with a varying breadth of from 80 to 100 feet. Upwards of 200 feet to the south, from the first mound above described, there is another mound which measured 125 feet in length by 110 feet in breadth.[1] Ninety-six feet to the south-south-east from the last-named mound there is an ancient well, built of large bricks. The whole extent of this portion of the site, from north to south, including the two mounds and the sloping ground covered with bricks, is about 614 feet; but including the well, it is 718 feet, with a breadth of about 240 feet from south-east to north-west.

[1] I also excavated this second lesser mound, and found that it contained the remains of two small temples composed of large ancient bricks, and also five human skeletons.

The portion of the site above described is bounded on the north-west and west-north-west by a low piece of ground, 400 feet in breadth, which, as I have previously stated, must originally have been a pond or tank of water.

On the further side, about 500 feet to the west-north-west from this site, there are the remains of an old *well* of large size, 20 feet in diameter, and constructed of brick masonry, which has fallen in and filled it up. Next, 1,850 feet to the north-north-west from this well and 3,400 feet, or a little over two-thirds of a mile, to the north-west-half-north-north-west from Indôr Khèra, there is an *old village* called "*Chimaoli*," or "*Chimâwali*," which is situated on a broad mound, about 500 feet from the right bank of the *Choya Nadi*. Now I would venture to conjecture that the name of this old village, "*Chimâwali*," might be a corruption of "*Pachchhimâlâya*," meaning "*the western habitation*," so named from its being situated *westerly* from *Indrapûra*. At the same time, however, "*Chhimâwali*" would mean "the *pardoned*" or "*exempted lineage;*" and "*Chhim-âlâya*" would mean "the *exempted habitation*," while "*Chimi-âlâya*" would mean "the *abode* of parrots."

It has struck me as somewhat remarkable and unaccountable that two such ancient places of importance as Indrapûra and Dhubhai, or Dhundhgarh, as well as the ancient village of Chimaoli, should be situated on the banks of such a small and insignificant water-course as the eastern branch of the Choya Nadi; while, again, Chandokh also (founded by Raja Chand) is situated on the western branch, or feeder, of the same small stream, which is dry at all times of the year, except during the rains; while the neighbouring, and much larger, Kâli Nadi offered a much better and more advantageous site. My belief, therefore, is that the Choya Nadi must anciently have been much larger, and a more permanent stream, than it is now. The eastern branch, or feeder, of the Choya Nadi, on which Indôr, or "Indrapûra," stands, also, in the upper part of its course, passes within 4 miles of Ahâr. I therefore think it is just possible that the eastern branch, or feeder, of the Choya Nadi may, in fact, be the remains of an ancient channel of the Ganges.

My own experience in the forests of North America has shown me that certain kinds of streams, or small rivers, continue to exist only so long as the forests are permitted to exist; and that, when the forests are cut down, these streams gradually dwindle away and dry up, and finally disappear

altogether. This accounts for the number of old "beaver meadows," or dried up "beaver dams" which may be seen on new farm lands in North America, and which always constitute the best meadows, or grass patches, for the farmers who purchase new land. Now, it will be remembered that, in the early portion of this report, I mentioned that I had dug up some large ancient bricks at Indôr, one of which bore the impressions of the feet and claws of a leopard or panther, while another bore the impression of the feet of some large kind of deer. Now, neither leopards nor large deer would be found where there was no forest for cover. It is evident, therefore, that there must have been some large tract of forest in the neighbourhood of Indrapûra, in ancient times, and where there was dense forest of considerable extent there would also be a superabundance of water, such as pools and swamps, and numerous rivulets; and then, in that case, the Choya Nadi would be a perennially-running river of considerable size, instead of the miserable little dried up channel which it is now.[1]

The excavations made at Indôr Khèra during the cold season of 1874-75 consisted principally in the opening of three large mounds which lay respectively in the fields to the west and to the north of the great Khèra. Two of the mounds which lay to the west were known under the traditional names of Kundanpûra and Ahîrpûra, while the principal mound to the north bore the traditional name of Vardyapûra. These I will now describe.

KUNDANPURA MOUND.

Kundanpûra mound, which I have also named the Great Temple Mound, on account of the remains of an extensive block of temple buildings which the excavations in this mound brought to light, is situated about 700 feet to the north-west from the great Khèra of Indôr. This mound measured originally about 175 feet across from south-east to north-west, by about 110 feet from north-east to south-west, or nearly 600 feet in circumference. When this mound was completely opened and thoroughly cleared by excavations, I found that I had laid

[1] My opinion as to the eastern branch of the Choya Nadi having formerly been the bed of a large river, or an ancient bed of the Ganges, has since received confirmation from a further personal examination of the bed higher up, as well as from the observation of others. At a village called Baktâri, about 3 miles to the north-north-west from Indor, the course of the Choya Nadi runs through quite a broad and deep valley, as broad as the main channel of the Ganges; and mmediately to the east of that the surface of the soil is one mass of sand and iand-hills, as if left by some great river or sea.

bare a very extensive and intricate building containing a great number of chambers and compartments. I counted about 35 chambers. The whole block or mass of building measured about 160 feet from south-east to north-west, by about 100 feet from north-east to south-west. The building did not stand in accordance with any of the points of the compass; but the greatest length, and the general course of the majority of the walls, was from south-east to north-west. Some massive portions of the building, however, faced east-south-east by west-north-west, and one rather small but high square pile of masonry stood nearly in accordance with the four cardinal points.

This mass of building was composed entirely of brick, the bricks being of various sizes and of various ages, indicating a series of successive buildings of various ages, which I ascertained, from certain discoveries which I made, to date from about the time of the *upta* dynasty, or even earlier, up to about the 10th century.[1] Numerous sculptures were found in various parts of the building in the course of the excavations, but principally in an ancient well, which was discovered a little to the east of the centre of the mound.

From certain discoveries I came to the conclusion that the oldest building on this spot, to which the largest and lowest underlying bricks belonged, must have been a Buddhist establishment, or a Buddhist Vihâra. This would appear to have been succeeded by a fire temple, and a temple dedicated to the sun; and I believed that I could distinguish the remains of some receptacles for fire; and among the ruins I also found the remains of numerous *hom* vessels, or vessels which could only have been used in the ancient *hom* worship, or sacrifice of fire. But whether the fire worship or the worship of the sun was the older of the two, I found it difficult to decide. Fire-worship was introduced into India at two different periods, namely, first, by the earlier Sassanians, and secondly, by the later Indo-Sassanians (or Sassanianised Indians who practised the cultus of fire), while the fact of the actual founding of a temple dedicated to the worship of the sun was mentioned in an inscription on a copper-plate, dated in the time of *Skanda Gupta*, which was found at Indôr Khèra. I, however, found eleven silver Indo-Sassanian coins concealed in a small earthen-ware vessel, in an excavation in the midst of these very temple ruins.

[1] See Plate VI for a plan of a portion of these ruins.

Next in point of time there appears to have been a Brahmanical temple, dedicated to the worship of the usual and various Brahmanical divinities, but principally, apparently, to the worship of *Vishnu*, as a large image of this latter divinity was found in the well; but from the form of two letters engraved at the back of the head of this statue of Vishnu, I do not think that it could be older than about the 10th century. The buildings belonging to this latter Brahmanical temple, judging from some remarkable wavily-curved distortions in the horizontal line of some of the walls, would appear to have been destroyed by an earthquake. On the ruins of these buildings last referred to some small detached Brahmanical shrines and pavements of a still later date would appear to have been constructed. These would appear in their turn to have become ruined and covered with earth, until at length the whole was buried under a shapeless mound of earth and debris, and overgrown with grass, weed, and bushes, as I found it.

The general mass of buildings I found to be exceedingly irregular in outline, and in its angles, and in the direction of the walls; and the whole plan, or design, of the building was most confused and puzzling. There were numerous small and deep chambers entirely enclosed within four walls, without any means of ingress or egress whatever. In the north-western portion of the building there was a chamber consisting of three walls upwards of 4 feet in thickness. This chamber was again surrounded, at a distance or interval of from 4 to 6½ feet, on three sides and a part of the fourth side, by walls which varied in thickness from 2 feet 4 inches and upwards, on three sides, to 1 foot 6 inches on part of the fourth side. These outer walls were connected, on two sides, with the inner walls, by four transverse or cross walls, each 1 foot 6 inches in thickness, which thus formed three separate enclosed side cells, and which thus entirely cut off, or shut up, the passage round the thick inner walls. The opening to the inner chamber was towards the north, and was faced by three small cell-like chambers, which were built inwards from the outer surrounding wall. The opening from the outer surrounding walls was towards the east, and, strange to say, a perfect human skeleton was found in this opening. Originally, the only means of egress from this must have been through a labyrinth of walls, and one would have to turn first towards the south, then to the east, then to the south again, then to

the east again, then to the south again, then to the east, and then to the north, until one arrived at a low wall, or raised platform of masonry, to attain the top of which one would have to make a leap of about 4 feet in height, and from which a flight of steps descended towards the east, into a sort of pit, at the west end of a long-shaped temple-chamber, in the middle of which there was a high square pedestal of brick. From the north side of this temple chamber, somewhat towards its eastern end, a narrow passage led first towards the north, and then turned towards the east, by which one at length gained clear egress out of the precincts of the buildings. Any other course of proceeding, either from or to the enclosed north-western chamber, would only have led one into other chambers, or blind passages, from which there was no means of egress. It is evident, therefore, that this curious doubly-enclosed or doubly-walled-in chamber was intended as a labyrinth, which could only be approached, by a tortuous course, from the interior of the general mass of buildings.

The other long-shaped temple-chamber referred to above was situated in the north-western portion of the block of buildings. This chamber was 21 feet in length by upwards of 7 feet in breadth. A flight of six steps descended into the end of this chamber from the west-north-west, but into a sort of shallow oblong-shaped pit. The middle portion of this chamber was somewhat raised. On this central portion of the chamber there was a high, somewhat pyramidal-shaped pedestal of brick, 4 feet 6 inches square at base, and 2 feet 6 inches square at top. There was a raised step at the eastern side of this pedestal. Between the pedestal and the wall, on the south side, the life-sized head of a large statue in red sandstone was found. The statue to which this head belonged must originally have stood on the pedestal in the centre of the long temple-chamber. In the same place a beautiful bas-relief, in red sand-stone, about 1 foot 4 inches in length, was found, which represented six sitting human figures, like Buddhist *Bhikshus*. A culvert, or drain of masonry, for the access of water, passed under the southern wall of the chamber, and then under a massive platform of masonry, in the direction of the well, which was situated a little beyond in a south-south-westerly direction. To the west there was a solid, high, square, compact mass of masonry; and to the south side of this there was the remains of a circular surrounding wall, which

was afterwards over-ridden by a straight wall of later date. I considered this to be the remains of an interior *stûpa*, or *dagoba* of some kind, which had been afterwards destroyed by the succeeding Brahmanical occupants of the temple buildings.

In the eastern part of the general block of buildings, there were two irregular-shaped and two oblong-shaped, massive, raised platforms of masonry; and there was a very large and similar, but square, platform of massive masonry, close by, to the south-east.

The great well was situated a little to the east of the centre of the general mass of buildings, and within a range of five of these massive platforms of masonry above described on the north and east. The well was surrounded by a low circular wall, about 1 foot in thickness and 49 feet in circumference, at the distance of about 4 feet from the mouth of the shaft of the well.[1] The shaft of the well was upwards of 6 feet in diameter. The well was excavated to the depth of about 30 feet, and had 15 feet of water in it when I left it. There were the remains of arrangements for receiving the water drawn from the well into small brick channels for passage in various directions. There were also three small circular cisterns, lined with mortar, sunk within one of the southern walls of the temple buildings.

To the west side of the general block of buildings there was the remains of a gateway, the entrance to which had been guarded by a massive outer curtain wall, of which only the foundations remained.

I will now describe *seriatim* the sculptures which were found in the different excavations and in the well of the great temple mound.

(1) A large life-sized head, in red sandstone, the hair bound in a large knot at the side of the head, with the end depending below, over the ear. Its dimensions are—height, 9 inches; breadth, 8 inches; depth, backwards, 9 inches. I believe this to be a head of a statue of "*Buddha Bhikshu*," or Buddha as a mendicant. It was dug up in a long chamber, in the northern part of the temple, and in the middle of the chamber there was a square brick pedestal on which the statue must have stood. I was very much disappointed at not being able to find the body of this statue, but I believe that it may probably be lying at the very bottom of the well in which I found so many other sculptures.

[1] See Plate VI for a plan of this well, and of the surrounding ruins.

(2) A bas-relief, in red sandstone, displaying six sitting human figures, of which the faces of five are broken away, but the head and face of the sixth figure is perfect and beautifully executed. There is a circular glory behind each head, and each figure has the right hand raised and holds a sort of bottle, or "*surai*," or a narrow-necked vessel of some kind, in the left hand. It is 1 foot 4 inches in length, and each figure is five inches in height. It was dug up in the same chamber in the temple in which the large head was found. It is certainly very ancient, and I believe it to be of the time of the *Guptas*.

(3) A curious head of an animal, in red sandstone. It looks much like the head of a crocodile, but may be that of a rhinoceros. It has the appearance of having been intended as a bracket of some kind. This sculpture measures 6½ inches in length.

(4) A sort of square stone pinnacle ornament, in red sand-stone, shaped very much like a small Roman altar; 5¼ inches in height, by 4½ inches square. This stone is much worn, and was fractured by the diggers; but I got a much finer and very beautiful, similar, altar-shaped, pinnacle ornament, in white sandstone, from the well, which will be afterwards described.

SCULPTURES FROM WELL IN TEMPLE.

(1) Two-thirds of an architrave of a doorway, with a portion of one of the jambs in white sandstone.

Present length ..	...	...	2′	7″
Width of stone	...	...	0′	6″
Thickness ...	...	...	0′	4½″
Original length...	...	...	4	6″

At what was the centre of the stone, there is a half figure with large head and smiling face, with the hands held down in front, palms outwards. Immediately on the right of the central figure, there is a kneeling figure, worshipping, with hands joined, and body terminating with a serpent's tail coiled. To the left, there are six sitting figures, each with the right hand raised and the left hand placed downwards upon what appears to be a cup or pitcher, or vessel of some kind. In the left corner there is a squatting figure, holding up a small club-shaped object in each hand. I should be inclined to attribute this sculptured architrave to about the fifth century of the Christian era.[1]

[1] From this description I take the sculpture to represent the Navagraha or Nine Planets.—*A. Cunningham.*

(2) A large statue in white sandstone, 3 feet in height. This statue had originally four arms, and one of the hands apparently held a kind of sceptre, or ornamental mace or club. At the back of the head there is a large circular ornamental flower-shaped ornament, formed of perforated open work. The head wears a high elaborately-ornamented crown. The neck is adorned with a richly-ornamented double necklace, and the Brahmanical thread passes over the left shoulder. The waist is adorned with a jewelled belt, from which jewelled pendants and festoons hang down in front. The feet stand upon a lotus flower, shaped into the form of a cushion, which is supported below by three small sitting figures. At each side of the legs of the statue there are standing figures with smaller kneeling figures at their feet. The upper part of the left side of the stone is broken away; but the upper half of the right side of the extension of the stone is adorned with three figures one above the other, the uppermost of which is a four-armed bearded sitting figure, holding a mace in the upper right hand and a truncheon in the upper left hand, and a sort of globe in the lower left hand. Next below, there is a crouching figure. Below the last there is a standing figure under a snake canopy. On the stone, at the back of the head, there are the characters "Di 3." This statue is probably a figure of Vishun. It is decidedly the most modern of all the sculptures which I obtained from the well which I excavated in the temple mound; and the architrave, bearing figures sculptured in bas-relief, previously described, is much more ancient. I do not think that the statue can be older than the ninth or tenth century.

(3) A head, belonging to another statue, which must have been exactly similar to the one last described.

(4) A head of a statue, wearing a square crown, in white sandstone. This head is very much worn, and it is evidently ancient, as the execution of the contour of the face is much superior to either of the two previously described.

(5) The feet and pedestal, and the upper part of the body (found separately) of another smaller statue.

(6) The body and legs of a similar small statue in white sandstone.

(7) A small statue, 10 inches in height by 5 inches in width, in very dark red sandstone, which has besides been stained nearly black, probably by the black mud at the bottom of the well. This figure is fully clothed. The garment which clothes the upper part of the body has a richly-worked

front, like the ornamental front of a shirt, or of a hussar's jacket. The legs are clothed in a garment which is tied at the waist, and which terminates in long points, on either side, below; and the ankles appear to be incased in some kind of leggings or boots. A scarf hangs over the arms and passes down in a festoon in front of the legs. This figure has two arms, and holds a plume in each hand. The ears are very long and slit, and are pierced at their lower ends with knob-shaped ear-rings. The features are bold and prominent. The head is surmounted by a crown. There are two small figures on each side below, one of which carries a long staff. I am inclined to attribute this small statue to the time of the Guptas, both on account of its antique appearance, and because the dress of the figure bears a remarkable resemblance to that worn by the figures represented on the coins of the Gupta dynasty. This sculpture was found at the very bottom of the well along with al arge figure of a bull, in *terra-cotta*, which will be next described.

(8) A very large figure of a bull, in *terra-cotta*, which measured 1 foot 7 inches in length by 1 foot in height, but the head and one of the fore-legs were unfortunately broken off and lost. This bull figure was adorned with a long side band from which human heads and bells depended alternately like a fringe.

(9) A four-armed bearded figure of a divinity, with crown on head, bearing three curved horns on either side of it. The figure sits on a throne. There is a crouching figure of some animal (bird?) at the side of the right leg, and there has been an elephant's head on the left side of the throne, which is now broken away. In the upper right hand of the figure there is a sceptre, or mace, while the lower left hand is turned up, palm outwards, as if to admonish. The upper left hand holds a broken rectangular object of some kind, and the lower left hand is placed upon the top of a broken elephant's head. To the right of this sitting divinity there is a small standing figure, holding up a vase-shaped vessel, or pitcher, with both hands. This vessel is shaped like some earthenware vessels which were found at the bottom of the well. The figure stands on a *lotus* flower, below which there is some kind of *grampus* fish, head downwards. To the right there is the remains of a hollow circular curve, part of a circle broken away, which shows that this sculpture originally was an ornament belonging to the left upper side of

some large statue. This sculpture is in white sandstone. Height 10 inches; breadth from 6 to 8 inches.

(10) A beautiful fragment of sculpture, in yellowish-white sandstone, displaying a richly-executed expanded flower of the *lotus*, of which about one-third is broken away. To the right there are three human figures, one above, in a flying posture, holding a bow, or wand, and two below, a male and female, holding a large wreath in front of them. Length of sculpture, 10 inches; height, 7 inches.

(11) A fragment of a circular *lotus* flower, similar to the one above described.

(12) A perfect sculpture, in white sandstone, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, consisting of a four-armed female divinity, in a half-sitting position, with the feet placed upon a recumbent figure. The female divinity holds a crooked dagger in the upper right hand and a cup in the lower right hand. The upper left hand is placed to the mouth, while the lower left hand holds a long sceptre. There are two small flying figures on either side above, and two standing figures, male and female, on either side below.

(13) A pretty fragment of sculpture, in white sandstone, 6 inches in height, displaying two figures, one of which is that of a youth with a conical cap, and the other is a human figure with either a bull's or lion's head, and carrying a pitcher-shaped vessel in the left hand, the form of which closely resembles that of some of the earthenware vessels which were found in the well.

(14) A fragment of sculpture, in white sandstone, 6 inches in height, having the half of a human figure wearing a high-pointed triple tiara, above which there is a head of an animal resembling that of a dolphin.

(15) A fragment of sculpture, in white sandstone, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, displaying a youthful human figure down to the waist, wearing large circular earrings, and with the hair drawn back, and hanging down behind in massy tresses.

(16) A small human figure, holding a *sankh* shell, in front of a portion of the leg of a broken statue, with part of a kneeling figure to the left, in bluish-grey sandstone.

(17) A very small image, under a canopy, with a circular wheel-shaped object below, held by a hand from a tassel in the centre.

(18) A very beautiful circular flower-shaped object, nearly 3 inches in diameter, in greyish-sandstone, with part of a hand holding it by a band from the centre.

(19) A beautiful sculptured ornament in yellowish-white sandstone, 5 inches and one-fifth square by the same in height, and shaped like a small Roman altar. This ornament is small at the middle, and enlarges by regular gradations towards the top and bottom. At each of the four corners there is an elevated triangular leaf-shaped projection, and the top surface is covered with a beautifully-sculptured circular flower, from which four leaves project, which extend to the four sides of the ornament.

(20) An ornament of exactly the same kind as the above (No. 19) in *terra-cotta*, but broader and flatter in shape. It has the circular flower and four triangular leaf-shaped elevated corners. The top and bottom of this *terra-cotta* ornament were found apart, but there was a hole in the centre of the opposite surface of each part, by which they had been originally joined together by a pin, so that I was able to join the two parts together again by simply replacing the pin with a little glue. This ornament is 6¾ inches square by 3½ inches in height.

It will be remembered that I obtained a broken ornament of the same kind, in red sandstone, from another part of the temple, so that I have now three of them, one in red sandstone, one in white sandstone, and one in *terra-cotta*.

(21) A beautifully sculptured triangular-shaped *corbel-bracket*, in white sandstone, 9 inches in width by 5 inches in height. The upper part is ornamented by a beading, beneath which there is a floral pattern, which is supported below by a lotus flower, terminating in a pointed knob at bottom. This sculpture is a perfect model for any school of art.

(22) A fragment of sculpture, in white sandstone, 9 inches in height, representing a standing human figure holding a round-headed mace or club. There are portions of two other figures to the right and left.

(23) A beautifully sculptured *trisul*, with a hooded snake twining through the prongs of it, in white sandstone.

(24) A hand, open, with a jewel on the palm, in white sandstone.

(25) An animal's head.

(26 to 31) Six other small fragments of sculpture, in white sandstone.

(32) A small sculpture, in black stone, displaying two human figures, a male and a female, one of them playing on a "*sitâr*," or guitar.

Besides the above, I obtained several ornamentally-carved bricks from the temple, and also several angular-pointed "*kanguras*" of crenelated battlements of *terra-cotta*, or the same substance as brick. I also found several fragments of *terra-cotta* figures, and two large water-spouts made of the same substance as brick. These ornamentally-carved bricks and pointed battlements, along with the other objects in *terra-cotta* which I have mentioned, must have belonged to a period when brick and *terra-cotta* ornaments, and even *terra-cotta* statues, entirely usurped the place of stone and sculptures.

But perhaps the most curious of the many objects of antiquity which I obtained in clearing out the well in the temple were a number of large earthenware vessels of various shapes. The greater number of these vessels were found at the very bottom of the well, below most of the sculptures, so that they must be very ancient, and some of them were interesting from the fact that they closely resembled, in shape, certain vessels held in the hands of some of the figures in the sculptures.

These earthenware vessels may be described as follows:—

(1) Long oval-shaped pitchers, with pointed bottoms, and rather narrow mouths. The most of these measured about 11 inches in length by from 1 foot 7 inches to 1 foot 9 inches in circumference, at the belly, and about 1 foot in circumference at the neck, near the mouth.

(2) Large-bellied, round-bottomed pitchers, 10 inches in length by 1 foot 10 inches in circumference at the belly and about 1 foot in circumference at the neck. (One other solitary specimen, somewhat differing, was 8 inches in height.)

(3) Pitchers with flattened bottoms, 7½ inches in height by 1 foot 7 inches in circumference at the belly, and 10¾ inches in circumference at the neck.

(4.) Pitchers with bases to stand upon at bottom, which measured from 8½ inches to 9 inches in height, by from 1 foot 8 inches to 1 foot 9 inches in circumference, at the belly, by about 11 inches in circumference, at the neck, near the mouth. These are the vessels which resemble those held in the hands of some of the figures in the sculptures.

(5) Smaller sized, rather squat-shaped vessels, somewhat resembling earthenware *lotas*.

(6) Large round-bellied vessels, with spouts, ornamented with lines and bead-shaped dots, and spangled with mica dust. Height about 9 nches. Circumference at belly 2 feet

4 inches, circumference at neck about 11 inches, length of spouts about 1½ inches.

From the temple I also obtained some small, strongly-made vessels with spouts, and also three "*Hom*" vessels, or vessels used for burning incense in the *Hom* sacrifice. These *Hom* vessels were narrow at the middle, like an hour-glass, and spread out wide at the top and bottom, and had handles at the sides. I also obtained two curious earthen-ware covers of vessels, probably covers of censers, perforated with holes, and having a large hole through the centre of the knob, at top.

I also found several fragments of ancient black glazed pottery, as well as pieces of red glazed ornamented ware.

In various parts of the excavations at the temple numerous fragments of plaster, moulded into ornamental patterns, were found.

The bricks found in this mound were of five different sizes, which I believe to indicate as many different successive periods of building, as the largest bricks were found at the lowest level. There were also wedge-shaped bricks, which were not well bricks, but which must have belonged to the exterior circumference of some circular building. The following is a graduated table of six different varieties of these bricks, from the largest to the smallest:—

(1) Length, 1 foot 3 inches; breadth, 10 inches; thickness, 3 inches.

(2) 1 foot 2 inches, by 9 inches, by 2½ inches.

(3) 1 foot 1 inch, by 8½ inches, by 2⅓ inches.

(4) 1 foot and ½ an inch, by 7 and ¾ inches, by 2¼ inches.

(5) 11 inches, by 8½ inches, by 2 inches.

(6) Wedge-shaped brick—length, 1 foot and ½ an inch, by 8½ inches across at the larger end, by 7 inches across at the smaller end, and 2¼ inches in thickness.

But in the fields, a short distance to the south-west from this mound, I dug up some of the largest bricks that I ever saw in my life. These enormous bricks measured 1 foot 8 inches in length, by 1 foot 6 inches in breadth, and 4 inches in thickness.

These monstrous bricks belonged to the foundations of a building which measured 18 feet from north to south, by 11 feet 6 inches from east to west. This site was situated 570 feet to the south-west from the Kundanpura or Great Temple Mound.

AHIRPURA MOUND, INDÔR.

The mound which I have named the *Ahîrpûra*, or Lesser Temple Mound, is situated about 225 feet to the south from the Kundanpûra, or Great Temple Mound, previously described. The name of *Ahîrpûra* is derived from ancient times, and there is no village of that name now. This mound measured across about 125 feet by 110 feet.

I have also called this the *Skeleton Mound*, because I found five human skeletons in it, as well as the remains of at least two small temples. One of the skulls found had very projecting jaws exactly like those of a Negro. This belonged to the skeleton of a male, nearly 6 feet in length; but close alongside of it I found the skeleton of a female, 5 feet 6 inches in length, the facial part of the skull of which had a straight even profile. Another skeleton was placed across, or upon the remains of the doorway of one of the temples. Four of the skeletons had their heads placed towards the north; but the fifth was placed the reverse way, the head being towards the south-west, and the feet towards the north-east.

On digging to some depth lower than the foundations of the two ruined temples, I found numerous fragments of completely fossilized bones of animals, which were very heavy. Some of them were certainly fossilized bones of camels, and a few probably of elephants; but there were several fragments which I could not account for. From this mound I obtained the following articles:—

1.—A spindle-shaped ivory, or bone, implement, 4 inches in length, thick in the middle, and pointed at each end.

2.—The half of a curious *terra-cotta* figure of a man holding a sword.

3.—A curiously-perforated cover of some vessel, with a large hole in the centre, through the knob at top.

4.—A flat, sharp-edged stone, shaped like an axe, 6½ inches in length, by 4 inches in width, and about half an inch in thickness near the middle. I think that there can be no doubt that this is a "stone implement."

There were two different sizes of bricks found in this mound. These were as follows:—

1.—1 foot 3 inches, by 10 inches, by 2½ to 3 inches.

2.—1 foot 2 inches, by 9 inches, by 2½ inches.

The buildings excavated in this mound consisted of the foundations of two small temples and the remains of a third. These small buildings had apparently had their entrances

towards the east and their backs towards the west; but they were of a very irregular shape, no two sides or angles being at all the same, nor were any of the lines parallel. And yet these buildings had evidently originally been intended to be constructed on exactly the same plan. They were intended each to be nearly square, with projections on three sides, so that the building presented ten projecting angles exteriorly, besides the piers on either side of the doorway. The most perfect of these buildings measured exteriorly about 14 feet from east to west, exclusive of the projection at the doorway, by about 15 feet from north to south. The interior chamber was almost wedge-shaped, the side towards the back being 7½ feet, while the front side of the chamber, next the doorway, measured little more than 6 feet. The doorway itself was about 3½ feet in width. A human skeleton lay across the doorway. Two more human skeletons, of a male and a female, lay nearly side by side, to the rear of the temple, towards the west. The male skeleton lay with the right shoulder jammed up close to an outer wall. A fourth skeleton lay just beyond the wall towards the west.

The interior of the next building, towards the north, was of a very irregular shape, the chamber being less than 7 feet in width towards the back and about 7½ feet towards the entrance, where two short slanting pieces of wall projected towards the doorway. The exterior of this building was also of a very irregular shape, but still on the same plan as the other first described. Its exterior dimensions were about 14½ feet from north to south, by from 14 to 15 feet from east to west. There were also some detached fragments of an outer wall which may have surrounded these buildings.

VAIDYA-PURA MOUND (INDÔR).

This is the most important of four mounds, called collectively the *Vaidya-pûra* mounds, situated to the north side of Indôr Khèra, across the Choya Nadi, and which were noticed in my account of Indôr or Indrapûra.

The highest and most northerly of these mounds was excavated by me. This mound is situated about 1,150 feet to the north from the Great Khèra of Indôr.

My excavations brought to light the base of an ancient temple, and several long walls surrounding it; and also the remains of some side buildings, among which was the remains of another very much smaller temple, or shrine, at the eastern

corner. The main building, the temple first noticed, was exactly on the same plan as those excavated in the Ahirpûra mound to the west; but the temple in this mound was in a much more perfect state, and it had two side wing walls running out to the right and left on either side of the doorway. The interior chamber of the temple was wedge-shaped, as it measured 7 feet in width at the interior back wall, but only 6 feet on the side next the doorway. The walls were from 3 feet 9 inches to 4½ feet in thickness. The exterior dimensions of the temple were 18 feet 6 inches from east to west, by about 14 feet from north to south.

About 8 feet from the north side of the temple a long wall, 2 feet 4 inches in thickness, ran for a distance of about 70 feet, in a direction east-south-east by west-north-west. There was a small oblong walled enclosure, about 11 feet in length by 6 feet in breadth, attached to the middle of the outer side of this long wall. Within the easterly end of this wall there was the remains of a very small temple, or shrine, which measured only 11 feet from east to west by about 8½ feet from north to south. From the outer side of the long wall, at the rear of the small shrine, a short wall, about 1 foot 6 inches in thickness, ran for about 5 feet northwards, where it united with another outer wall which ran for about 22 feet eastwards, and then turned due southwards, but its length in a southerly direction was uncertain, although I traced it for a distance of about 30 feet in that direction. From the southern side of the doorway of the small shrine a wall, 1 foot 6 inches in thickness, ran for about 20 feet southwards, and there was a square raised projection about the centre of it. Thirteen feet six inches to the east of the larger temple, a wall, varying from 1 foot 6 inches to 1 foot in thickness, ran southwards, for about 31 feet, where it joined another wall which ran from west-north-west to east-south-east, and which formed the inner wall of two large chambers, which together measured about 32½ feet in length from east to west, the breadth of the easterly chamber being about 12 feet and the breadth of the westerly one being about 11 feet. The foundations of a wall of older date ran diagonally through these two chambers. About 7 feet to the south of the temple, a wall, 2 feet in thickness, ran for about 18 feet, in an east and west direction. To the outer side of this wall another wall from 2½ to 3 feet in thickness was attached, which turned round towards the east for a distance of about 11 feet.

The whole extent of this mass of buildings, from east to west, was nearly 80 feet, and the greatest extent from north to south about 57 feet.

The bricks found in this mound were of three different sizes or varieties as follows:—

1.—1 foot 3 inches, by 9 inches, by 3 inches.
2.—11½ inches, by 8½ inches, by 2½ to 2½ inches.
3.—Square bricks from 10 to 11 inches square, by 2½ inches in thickness.

I have only further to mention that, at the village of Makhena, about 3 miles to the north-east from Indôr Khèra, I obtained two enormous curved bricks, which may probably have belonged either to the parapet of some ancient well, or to some circular building. These large curved bricks measured 1 foot 9 inches in length, by 8½ inches in width, and 7 inches in thickness. These bricks were made to fit into each other; for one end of each brick was cut to a sharp projecting angle, while the other end of the brick was cut into a deep receding angle.

11.—BHUILA AND KAPILAVASTU.

The greater part of the cold season of 1874-75 was occupied in making extensive excavations at *Indôr Khèra*, in the Bulandshahr district, and also in measuring and drawing plans of the buildings which I had there excavated.

There was thus very little of the cold season left for the exploration of other ancient sites; but, by immediately thereafter proceeding to another distant part of the country and by remaining in camp, during both the hot weather and the rainy season, of this year (1875), I was enabled to do a great deal of additional important work, and I thus had the good fortune (as I believe) to make the discovery of the long-sought-for site of the ancient city of "*Kapilavastu*," or "*Kapilanagara*," the residence of the family of *Śâkya Múni*, the last Buddha, and the capital of the Śâkya tribe.

From the Bulandshahr District I proceeded straight, by railway, to Lucknow and Faizabad.

When I had arrived at Faizabad, it only remained for me to decide whether I should at once proceed to *Nagar Khâs*, in the southern part of the Basti District, which had been proposed by General Cunningham (in his "Ancient Geography of India") as the probable site of *Kapila-vastu*, or whether I should first halt at the great *dih*, or khera or mound of ruins, on the bank of the *Bhuîla Tâl*, or Lâke of

Bhuila, which is situated in *Pargana Mansurnagar*, in the north-western part of the Basti District, about 25 miles north-east from Faizabad, and about 15 miles west-north-west from Basti, and which I had reasons to believe might possibly turn out to be the real site of the long-sought-for ancient city of *Kapila-vastu.*

The sequel, however, alone will prove whether I am right or not, and I have, moreover, reason to hope that General Cunningham will himself come to examine my newly-proposed site of *Kapila-vastu* at Bhuila, and his opinion, when formed on the spot, will of course be decisive and final.

Before, however, proceeding to a systematic report of the result of my investigations and explorations at Bhuila and in its neighbourhood, it will be necessary for me first to say a few words about *Nagar Khâs*, which, it will be remembered, was the place which was originally proposed by General Cunningham as a possible or probable site for *Kapila-vastu.*

12.—NAGAR KHÂS.

I have as yet (up to the time of commencing this present report) been prevented, partly by necessary reasons, and partly by accidental causes, from personally visiting *Nagar Khâs*. The fact is that my investigations and explorations at Bhuila and in its neighbourhood were of necessity on a wide scale, and were extended over a considerably large range of country. For, in order to be at all certain that I had really found *Kapila-vastu*, I had not only to identify the site of the city itself, but I had also to identify the sites of a number of other places, either in the neighbourhood or at some distance, which were mentioned in the travels of the Chinese pilgrims. In my search after these places, and also in making a complete survey of Bhuila (or *Kapila-vastu*) itself, so much time was spent that the rains had commenced before I could find any time to think of removing my whole camp to *Nagar Khâs*. Moreover, in this part of the country, where the whole land is cut up into rice-fields, and where the cultivators are so jealous of every inch of ground that they do not leave even a single foot-path, far less a road of any kind, it becomes totally impossible to make use of camels at all after the rains have once commenced, and, as I found a difficulty in getting carts at the time, I had to give up the idea of visiting *Nagar Khas* personally until after the rains.

I however, in the meantime, sent a party of intelligent men to *Nagar Khâs*, in order to explore the whole place, and to bring me all the information they could obtain on the spot concerning it. The following notes, therefore, contain the main substance of the information which I obtained by means of the exploring party deputed by me to *Nagar Khâs*.

It would appear that the natives of the locality itself do not know the place by the name of "*Nagar Khâs,*" but they simply call it "*Nagar*," or "*Nagara*;" and the term "*Khâs*" would appear to have been added simply for the sake of "convenience" by the former native revenue officers of the Muhammadan Government of Oudh, not because this place was larger than any other place called "*Nagar*," as there are several other places in this part of the country which bear the same appellation; and near one place, called "*Nagara*," further east, in Pargana *Mhauli* ("*Mhowlee*") there is even a larger and more important mound of ruins than at *Nagar Khâs*. But the comparatively modern small town, or village, known officially as "*Nagar Khâs*," was formerly the residence of a chief, or Raja of the Gautam tribe, and was therefore a convenient centre for the collection of the local revenue. And it was for this reason alone that it came to be designated in official documents by the term "*Khâs*," or *specialized*. It was, however, also called "*Aurangabad Nagar*," and "*Chando Nagara*."

Nagar Khâs is situated at the east end of a large lake, called the "*Chando Tâl*," about 3 miles in length, in Pargana Aurangabad-nagar, in the southern part of the Basti District.

The present small so-called "*town*" of *Nagar Khâs* is now little better than a mere village, and rather a poor-looking place. Adjoining it is the comparatively modern fort of the late Rajas, which was nearly destroyed during the mutiny of 1857-58 by the British authorities, on account of the bad conduct of the chief, who acted as a mischievous rebel, and who was accordingly expelled from the place. Both the present small modern town, or village, and the fort of Nagar Khâs, are said to have been founded in comparatively-speaking modern times (or, at most, during the latter part of the middle ages) by some petty *Gautam* chiefs, who, according to the account given by a man of that tribe, came from somewhere in the south during the middle ages, or in the time of the Pathans.

To the west of the present village of Nagar Khâs, there is a large, but rather low, long-shaped mound, which may be about half a mile in length,[1] but it has been mostly ploughed up and under cultivation, and although fragments of ancient pottery are found very plentifully on it, there are very few traces of bricks to be seen and old bricks would appear to be very scarce. There is a nalla (which may be the remains of a former ditch) along the eastern side or base of the mound, and particularly between the mound and the village of Nagar Khâs. Now, according to the account given by the Chinese travellers, there should be a "*ditch*" at the south side of the ancient city of "*Kapila-vastu*," but, in the present case, the great lake, called the *Chando Tâl* (when full) lies close to the southern side or base of the long mound near *Nagar Khâs*. This, then, is one point of marked disagreement, totally at variance with the only authentic descriptions of *Kapila-vastu* that we possess.

There should also be a deep hole or pit (a kund, or tank), called the "*Hasti Gartta*," beyond, or to the south of, the "*ditch*," and some distance to the south of the site of the ancient city. But again, in the present case, the great lake alone occupies the very position indicated. This is therefore another marked point of disagreement.

The party of men whom I sent to explore the place held conversation with some of the villagers who belonged to the *Gautam* tribe, and my men asked them who were the founders of the old place, of which the great mound, or Khèra, to the west of Nagar Khas, now only remained to indicate the site, and what was its original name, and whether the *Gautam* Râjputs were the original founders of the old site. To this some of the people replied that they, the Gautams, had come from somewhere in the south, in the time of the *Pathâns*, and that they did not know who founded the ancient site, or "*Dih;*" that they thought it was founded in very ancient times, before the Kâli yug, but that it might, perhaps, at some time have been in the possession of either the Bhars or the Thârûs, and they declared that they never heard that any *Gautams* had ever founded the old site, but that, indeed, on the contrary, they had always heard that the ancient "*Dih*" or Khèra mound was already in existence long before they, the *Gautams*, came to the place. Other persons who were also questioned on the spot on this subject by my

[1] NOTE.—I have since ascertained that it is about 2,500 feet in length from east to west, by about 1,500 feet from north to south.

men are reported to have stated, in like manner, that they believed that the *Gautam* Rajputs, of Nagar Khas and Pokhra, had come from somewhere in the south, in the middle ages, or in the time of the *Pathâns*, and that when they first came to the locality, they found the old Khèra mound in very much the same condition that it is in now, except that perhaps it may not, up to that time, have been touched by the plough; and further, as far as they knew, it was only the present comparatively modern village and fort, or "*Kôt*," of Nagar Khas, that had ever been founded by the *Gautam* Rajputs, in that locality.

Now it appears to me that, if the present *Gautams* were really the representatives of the *Sâkyas*, and that if they had been the founders of the ancient site, or Khèra mound, at *Nagar Khâs*, that they would surely know something about it, or would have preserved some tradition concerning a matter which was so intimately connected with the history and prestige of their own tribe. But so far as I was able to learn, the *Gautam Rajputs* about *Nagar Khâs*, with whom my men conversed, appeared to be totally ignorant as to the origin or history of the ancient site, or Khèra mound!

At the same time I must confess that I have found the majority of the *Rajputs* of this part of this country so hopelessly ignorant, even on points immediately relating to the local history of their own tribe, that I believe it to be quite possible that a site, now deserted, might really have been founded by their ancestors, and yet that they may now be totally ignorant of the fact, and not know anything at all about it. We must therefore at least be careful not too hastily to accept the wandering talk of the present ignorant representatives of a tribe as gospel.

My men next asked the people of Nagar Khâs if they had heard of the ancient "*dih*" or Khèra, or mound of ruins, at *Bhuila Tâl*, and if they knew who had founded that place. To this they replied that they have heard of "*Bhuila Dih*" as a very ancient place, but that they did not know who had founded it, though they thought it might perhaps have been founded by the "*Thârû*."

A short distance, say about a mile to the south from the present village of *Nagar Khâs*, on the very bank of the eastern end of *lake*, or "*Chando Tâl*," where a small insignificant water-course, or nalla, debouches from the lake towards the east, there is a curious, isolated, somewhat circular-shaped and moderately-elevated spot of ground, covered

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with a growth of bambu trees, which was described to me as being surrounded by a double ditch, or two ditches, which are connected with the lake. This circumscribed site is supposed to have been the first fort which was constructed by the Gautams as a place of refuge and security, or as an asylum of safety; or perhaps as a secure temporary repository for treasure, and as a resort for the females of the household of the first Rajas. But it apparently contains too small an area ever to have been used as a permanent habitation.

Again, to the south-west from the lake, and near the village of "*Pokhra*," on its south-south-western side, there is a "*dih*" or khèra, or mound, which must have been the site of some former habitations, probably of an ancient village, or small town, which preceded the present village of Pokhra. There is said to be nothing remarkable about this mound, except the usual scattered fragments of old pottery, and a few fragments of brick. The representatives of the late Gautam Rajâs of Nagar Khâs now reside at Pokhra.

There is also another, but smaller mound, which is said to be situated somewhat less than a mile to the west from *Pokhra*.

The mounds or sites which have been severally noticed or commented upon in connection with *Nagar Khâs* in the preceding notes, are stated by the men of the exploring party, whom I sent to Nagar Khas, to be the only objects of any interest that they could discover there or in its neighbourhood. And it is remarkable that (according to their account) they could not find the remains of even a single stûpa, or tope, anywhere near *Nagar Khâs*.

From the general conclusions that I drew from the above information which I received concerning Nagar Khas and its immediate neighbourhood, it appeared to me that it could not have been the site of Kapila-vastu, as it did not seem to agree in any one single point with the description of that ancient capital of the Sakyas, as given either by Fa-Hian or Huen-Thsang. The great mound near Nagar Khâs may very probably be the site of some very ancient city, perhaps, most probably, one of the *ten deserted towns*, which are stated to have existed in the dominions of the Sakyas; but it apparently has not any of the surrounding points, or contingent features, which especially constitute the most important and necessary concomitants, required for the full identification of the site of Kapila-vastu.

Certainly, however, the great size of the lake, called the *Chando Tâl*, at Nagar Khâs, which is really a very large and grand sheet of water (for India at least), constitutes, even of itself alone, a feature which tells very much in the favour of Nagar Khâs. The *Chando Tâl*, indeed, is probably more than a mile longer than the Bhuila Tâl, or lake of Bhuila, even at the fullest extent of the latter, during the rains. The *Chando Tâl*, which is a straight, oval-shaped sheet of water, is apparently about 3 miles in length; while the Bhuila Tâl, which is a curved sheet of water, never exceeds a mile and a half in its entire length, even at its greatest height towards the end of the rainy season; and in the dry weather, during the hot season, the actual extent of water in the basin of the Bhuila lake then becomes much less and is then reduced to barely a mile, or even sometimes to less than a mile in length. The great superiority in size of the Chando Tâl at Nagar Khâs is therefore certainly a great point in its favour, as a proposed site for the ancient capital city of Kapila-vastu, were it not for other facts, which cannot be reconciled, and these "facts are stubborn things!"

There is, however, one fact which in my opinion tells very much against Nagar Khâs, and that is, that it may really be said to be situated on the *Manora* River. Nagar Khâs is only 2¼ miles from the nearest point of the Manora River, while the *Chando Tâl* is only about 1 mile from the nearest bend of the river. Now, it appears to me that if Kapila-vastu had really been situated on such a well-known and considerable river as the *Manora*, or *Manorama*, that this fact would most certainly have been mentioned in most, or at least in some, of the various notices and accounts that we have of Kapila-vastu, for the Manora is in reality a larger river than the Kuâni, or Kuâno. On the contrary, however, Kapila-vastu has always been stated to have been situated on a lake, and on or very near the banks of the *Rohini* River, which, as will be seen in the sequel, I have lately found reason to identify with an old bed of the *Rawai* or *Roai River*, which lies between Bhuila and the Kuâno River.

I have only further to add that my exploring party also visited Kukooa Oojha, or Kakûa Ujha, about 8 miles to the west from Nagar Khâs, which was proposed by General Cunningham as the site of the birth-place of *Krakuchanda Buddha*; and further that my men also visited another smaller village, called simply *Kakua*, 2½ miles to the north-east from the former. But they could not find any stûpa, or

even the remains of one, at either of these places. At *Kakua Ujha*, near a ghât on the bank of the Manora River, they said they found only an irregular-shaped and rather low, or inconsiderable mound of sandy earth, with a few fragments of pottery, and at the other lesser *Kakua* they could only find a very small low mound, which, they said, they would not have thought worth noticing if it had not been for my strict instructions to them to notice even the smallest trifles.

I have given the above account as I received it, though of course I do not profess to pin my faith to every word of it, or in every minute particular. But, taken as a whole, I think it may fairly be accepted, tentatively, as being probably, in the main, a pretty just account of Nagar Khâs and its neighbourhood, more especially as this account has since been confirmed in most of the particulars by other information which I have since obtained concerning the Gautams and Nagar Khâs.

Perhaps the most remarkable items of information which I have obtained from other and entirely independent sources concerning the Gautam Rajpoots, who are now found about Nagar Khâs, Pokhra, and Byragul (Bairâgal), and in that neighbourhood, are contained in the following notes. And the information which I have now to communicate is specially important, as it involves a total contradiction to all the preconceived notions concerning the origin of the Gautama Kshatriyas.

It is said that Nagar Khâs and Pokhra, and the land generally around the Chando Tâl, were originally in the possession of the Bhars, who may possibly, therefore, have founded some of the ancient sites in that neighbourhood. Afrerwards some Pathans came from a place named Utrola or Atraola, in the Gonda District, 30 miles to the north-east from Gonda; and these Pathâns drove out the Bhars from the neighbourhood of Nagar Khâs and took possession of the place. At length, last of all, some Gautam Rajputs came from somewhere in the south, and expelled the Pathâns. The battle between the Gautams and the Pathâns is said to have been fought at a place called *yragul*, or *Bairâgal*, about 8 miles to the south-west from Nagar Khâs.

The Gautams are said to have originally come from a distant place, called *Argal*, which was situated somewhere in the south-eastern part of India. The Gautams next settled probably somewhere immediately to the south,—I am not

sure exactly where, but most likely somewhere in the Jaunpur District, as there are said to be still some Gautam Rajputs about Azimgarh. Some of the Gautams, either being driven from there (perhaps by the Muhammadans), or for some cause or other, crossed the Ghâghra River (probably about Tanda), and attacked and defeated the Pathan chief at the place which is now called *yragul* or *Bairâgal,* 8 miles to the south-west from Nagar Khâs; and the Gautamas are by some supposed to have probably named this place *Bairagal* in remembrance of *Argal*, a place in the south-west of India, from which the Gautams originally came as I before stated. Argal might possibly be some place in Râjputana, or in the Aravalli hills, as the syllable *Ar* is found both in *Arbûdha* (Abû) and in *Aravalli*, or it might refer to some place called Argadh or Argaṛh. There is a place called *Argaum* in Berar, and a place called *Arakot* in Sindh. But as *airâgal* is evidently a corruption of *Vairâgal*, or *Wairâgal*, it would seem that the name of *Argal* may likewise be a corruption or contraction of some older name of a place in south-western India, which may therefore perhaps have been called *Vârgal* or *Vairârgal,* or *Wairargal*, or *Avârgal*, and it is curious that there is a village called *Harankha* less than a mile to the east of Nagar Khâs. I do not know of any other place bearing such a name, except *Warangol*, the ancient capital of the Andhra kings, to the south of Berar. Now the name of *Warangol* has also been spelt as *Warankol*, *Varanakol*, *Arenkil*, and *Wairangol;* but the real correct name of the place is *Varunakolla*, which from one of its modern names, *Arenkil*, would appear to have been an alteration from *Arunakola*, which is only another form of *Arunakûndapûra,* or *Arunakundapatna,* which was the original ancient name of *Warangol*, and which is mentioned in an inscription of *Rudra Déva* of the Gangavansa, or *Kâkalya*, dynasty, in A.D. 1132, which was found at Warangol.[1] *Kol* means a *creek* and is therefore nearly allied in meaning to *kund*—a pond, a pool, a fount, and therefore *Arunakola* is nearly synonymous with *Aruna-kunda*. Now one of the modern forms of the name of the place is *Arenkil*, which is evidently nearly allied to *Arunkol*.[2] The *Argal*, *Wargal*, or

[1] In some of the Dravidian dialects, *gol* or *gal* means a fort, or a pass, or a pile; *ar*, or *aur*, means water, and *kol* in Hindi means a *creek*.

[2] This interpretation which I have given of the name of Warangol, or Warunkol, is however entirely contradicted by Mr. A. D. Campbell, of the Madras Civil Service, in the introduction to his Telugu Grammar, where, in a Note to page XI, he says:—"This word (*Warunkul*) is pure Teloogoo, Orûkullû, and signifies a single stone; a solid rock, or perhaps Orukullu, a touch-stone.

Arkal, of the Gautam traditions may therefore just possibly be a corruption of *Arunkol*. But both *Arun* and *Arkoa* mean the Sun, and therefore *Arun-kol* and *Arka-kol* would be absolutely synonymous terms. Therefore *Arka-kel* must be the original of *Arkal*, or *Argal*.

All this will appear more possible, from several facts which I am now about to mention.

Warangol, or *Varankol*, or *Arunaûnapûra*, was the capital of the ancient kings of *Andhara*. The most famous of the kings of *Andûra* was named "*Gotamiputra Sâtakarni*." The name of "*Gotamiputra*" means "*the son of Gotami*," or Gotama. Might not the *Gautama Rajputs* perhaps be really descended from this *Gotamiputra?* It is at all events remarkable that some Gautama Rajputs, in the Basti District, when questioned, denied that they were of the *Suryauansa*, or *solar* race, at all; and said that they were not Suryavans, but *autams;* and that they were descended from the *Rishi Gotam* and his wife "*Ahaliyâ*," or "*Ahali*" as they called her. Now, "*Argâkali*" would mean a place of *Ahalyâ* set apart, or the portion of *Aharyâ*. (The "*Ahar*" Rajputs derive their origin from "*Aharyâ*.") General Cunningham has identified the great Andhra king, *Gotamiputra Sâtakarni*, with *Sâlivâhan*, who was also called "*Sâtavâhan*," and "*adavaûan*" *Sâkâditya*, and who founded the *Sâka* era, in A.D. 79. The era of *Prome*, or of the Burmese Buddhists of *Prome*, was established by a Raja whom they call "*Samandri*," six hundred and twenty-three years from the sacred era of *Buddha's* death, in B.C. 543, or, as the Burmese make it, "544;" and if we deduct 543 or 544 from 623, it leaves 78 or 79, which is the date of the *Saka* era; and the *Prome* era is therefore the same as the era which was established by *Sâlivâhan;* and the Raja "*Samandri*," who established the *Prome* era, would therefore appear to be the same as *Sâlivâhan*. But the name "*Samandri*" does not represent that of *Sâtivâhan;* but it appears to be a compound of "*Sam*" and *Andhri*, as if for "*Swâm-Andhray*," for the Sanskrit "*Swamin Andhrasya*," meaning "the Lord of *Andhra;*" and this Lord of *Andhra*, who established an era, the very same as the *Sâka* era of *Sâlivâhan*, could only be "*Sri Gotamiputra Sâtakarni*," the great king of *Andhra*, who was a staunch Buddhist, and whom General Cunningham has identified with *Sâlivâhan!* This fact, then, would appear to constitute a proof in favour of General Cunningham's sagacious identification! But "*Sam-Andhra*" might also mean the united *Andhra*, or "the *Andhra*

confederacy." On the other hand, if *Samandra* be supposed to represent "*Samundra*," or "*Samudra*," then even this, again, would lead us to *Sâlivâhan*, for, in the genealogical lists of the "*Râjâvali*" of *Raja Raghunâth*, in the *Malwa* line, the name of "*Samudra-pâla*" is given in the place of that of *Sâlivâhan!* Now it is known that "*Kumâra pâla*" was one of the names given to the famous *Sâlivâhan;* and in the *Râjâvali* of *Raghunath*, it is stated that a prince named "*Samudra pâla*" succeeded, or supplanted, a king called "*Vikrama*" about A.D. 191.[1] "*Sipraka*," the first king or founder of the *Andhra* dynasty, was also called "*Sindhuka*," "*Sûdraka*," "*Sûraka*," and "*Sisuka*," and also "*Balihita*," and *Balin*. Now, "*Sindhuka*" is absolutely synonymous with "*Samudra*," or "*Samundar*," both referring to the sea; and "*Sipraka*" might mean the *shelly;* and "*Sisuka*" is the name of an *aquatic* animal, a dolphin, or porpoise. "*Sipra*" is also the name of a river near Ujain.

Again, the region of "*Maha Kosala*" was included in the dominions of *Gotamiputra Sâtakarni*. Consequently, if the ancestors of the *Gautam* Rajputs originally came from *Warangol* or *Arungol,* they might almost be said to have come from the kingdom of *Mahakosala*. But there is another place called *Wairagarh*, 74 miles to the north-east from Nâgpûr; and there is another place of the same name 75 miles to the south-west from Sambhalpur. Now, "*Prasenajit*," King of *Srâvasti,* in "*Uttara kosala,*" in the time of Buddha, is said to have been the son of *Maha Kosala*, who was the descendant of Yuvanâswa, of the Solar race. But surely this may simply mean that he was the son of the *founder* of the kingdom of *Maha Kosala*. Moreover, I can prove that *Prasenajit* really belonged to the *Sâkya* race, or at least to the same branch of the Solar race as that to which *Sahya Sinha* and his father *Suddhodana* belonged, nay, even to the same family. For *Suddhodana,* the father of *Sâkya*, was also descended from *Yuvanâswa*[2] of the Solar race and in the genealogical lists of the Solar race given in some of the *Purânas* (as, for instance, in the *Vishnu* and *Bhâgavat Purânas*) the name of *Prasenajit* is made to follow immediately after *Râhula*, the son of *Sâkya Sinha*. This name "*Prasenajit*"

[1] Prinsep's "Indian Antiquities," Vol. I, pages 285 and 286.

[2] General Cunningham in his Archæological Report for 1872-73, page 96, text and foot-note, has identified either Raja *Jobnath*, or *Jobnâs*, of Sangala, with *Yuvanâswa*, of the Solar race, and also with *Sophytes*, the contemporary of Alexander the Great. But *Jobnâth* had a son called "*Suveg*," who was more probably *Sophytes*.

also occurs again, further back, in the Solar line, between the names of "*Viswabhahu*" and "*Tahshaha.*" Mrs. Speir, in her "Life in Ancient India," page 280, very sagaciously remarks that:—"*Prasenajit*" the king of *Kosala* was a friend, and probably a connection, of *Sakyamuni's* father; and through his (*Prasenajit's*) friendly mediation, Sakya was induced once more to visit his native place. (I may here further note, too, by the way, that, as the *Andhra* King "*Sipraha*" was also called "*Sudraka,*" or "*Suraha;*" so also the names of "*Kshudraha*" "*Kundaha,*" and "*Suratha*" or "*Surita,*" follow immediately after the name of *Prasenajit*, in the Solar line.) But another descendant of *Yuvanâswa*[1] was *Kritanjaya;* and *Kritanjaya* was the common ancestor of both *Sâhya Sinha* and *Prasenajit.* This same *Kritanjaya* is said to have emigrated from *Kosala* and to have founded the nation of the *Sauryas* in *Saurashtra.* And according to certain Buddhist chronicles, as quoted by Csoma Korosi and others, the ancestors of the *Sâkyas* of *Kapilavastu* are said to have come originally from a place called "*Potala,*" in the Delta of the Indus, near Saurashtra.[2] Another member of the same family, "*Kanah Sena,*" is said to have emigrated from *Kosala*, first to Lohkot in the Panjâb, and afterwards, from thence to Saurashtra, and to have founded the kingdom of *Balabhi*, either in A.D. 144 or about A.D. 223.

But the name of *Balabhi*, or "*Valabhadra,*" was popularly said to have been derived from a king called *Bala, Balha,* or *Balabh;* and *Albiruni* derives the name of the *Balabhi era* from that of a king called "*Balab.*" Now, Sipraka, the founder of the *Andhra* dynasty, was also called "*Balin,*" and "*Balhita;*"[3] and I think it is just possible that either he or one of his race bearing the same generic title may somehow have been the real originator of at least the name of *Balabhi*—which, as I before remarked, was, according to the common popular traditions, supposed to have been derived from a king named "*Balabh.*" Now it is remarkable that in the genealogy of the Bhattis of Jessalmer (which was apparently derived from chronicles preserved by the Jains) the eldest of fifteen sons of *Sâlivâhan* was called "*Bâland.*" If, therefore, the succes-

[1] Here again, *Yuvanâswa*, who has been identified with *Jobnath* of Sangala in the Panjâb,

[2] Wilson's Ariana, page 211, *Journ. A. Soc. Beng.*, Aug. 1833, origin of the Sakya Race, Csoma Korosi.

[3] Prinsep's "Indian Antiquities," Vol. II, Useful Tables, page 241, and page 216.

sor of *Sipraka* or *Balin,* namely, *Sâtakarni,* was really the same person as *Sâtavâhan* or *kâlivâhan,* who was also called *Sâkâditya,* and whom Tod called a *Takka* or *Takshaka,* while Dr. Bhau Dhaji is said to have considered him to have been an Indo-Scythian, then the ancestors of *Sâlivâhan,* and of *Sipraka* or *Balin,* may very possibly have derived their origin from the same stock as the *Balas* of Sindh, who are allied to the *Kathis;* and the Balas may very probably be the representatives of the *Bâhlikâs* of the Hindu traditional chronicles, who are substantively mentioned in the inscription of Raja *Dhava* or *Bhava,* on the iron pillar at Delhi, as the "*Vâhlikâs* of *Sindhu*."[1] But in that case, it necessarily follows, either that the *Balabhi* dynasty of kings, from whom the Mewar or Udaypûr family claim to be descended, did not belong to any original race called *Bâlahs Vâhikas, Bâhlikas, Vâhlikas,* or *Balabhas,* at all; but that they only perpetuated an old name which did not belong to them, but was that of a race which had preceded them, and that the city which they are reputed to have founded did not receive its name from them at all, but had been already previously so named by predecessors who were of a different race; or else that, contrary to all our preconceived ideas, the so-called *Balabhi* dynasty may indeed, after all, have derived both their own name and their origin by descent from the *Bâlas, Bâhlikas,* or *Vahlikas,* of *Sindh;* who might, in their turn, again, then possibly be identifiable with the *Ṣauras* or *Sauryas;* for both "*Bâl*," or "*Bâl Nâth*," and *Ṣurya* are names of the sun, so that *Bâlîka,* or *Bâla,* and *Ṣaurya,* would both mean a Solar race. Now the name of the brother of *Krishna* was *Balarâma, Bal-dêva,* or *Bal-bhadra,* who has been considered by some either in the light of an Indian *Hercules,* or as representative of the powers of the sun, and whose name, as "*Bal-bhadra*," bears so close a resemblance to that of *Vala-bhadra,* the classical name of *Balabhi.*

Next, the *Ṣisodias, Guhilas,* or *Guhadityas,* of *Mewar,* the reputed descendants of the *Balabhi* dynasty, trace their origin from *Ṣumitra,* who belonged to the very same branch of the Solar race as *Prasenajit* and *Ṣuddhodana,* the father of *Ṣakya Ṣinha;* and *Ṣumitra* himself was a lineal descendant of *Kritanjaya,* whom I have before mentioned as having emigrated from *Kosala,* and as being the reputed original founder of the *Ṣauryas* in *Ṣaurashtra.*

[1] General Cunningham considers that this name ought to be read "Vâhikâs."

The last king of the *Balabhi* dynasty was called "*Şilâdityâ*," and there were no less than three *kings* of this name in the same dynasty. Now, the Chinese traveller Huen Thsang (Si-yu-ki XI-17) says that, in his time, the kings of *Valabhi* were the nephews of "*Şilâditya*," king of *Malwa!* And I may here add the remark that the brother of the great *Vikramâditya* of *Malwa, Bhartrihari,* was also called "*Şilâditya.*" Again, *Huen Thsang* says that the king of *Valabhi*, in his time, was named "*Dhruvapâtu*," and that he was the son-in-law of *Şilâditya*, king of *Kanauj*. And as a clincher to this, he (Si-yu-ki, XI-17) again says that the son of *Şilâditya*, king of Kanauj, had a son-in-law named "*Dhruvapâtu.*" Again, in one passage, *Huen Thsang* states that a king named "*Dhruvapâtu*" was the sovereign of *Southern* India; and, in another place, that he was king of *Eastern* India.[1]

Huen Thsang says that the kings of *Kanauj* were of the "*Fai-she*," or *Bais* tribe. But *Şâlivâhan* was the reputed ancestor of the whole *Bais* tribe, who even now trace their descent to him! Consequently, in accordance with the numerous and various links of relationship, partly mentioned by the Chinese traveller, and partly pointed out by myself,—*Şâlivâhan* was probably the ancestor of the *Bais* kings of *Kanauj*, as well as of the mis-called "*Pramâra*" kings of *Malwa;* and the Rajas of *Valabhi* would appear to have been closely connected with both the *Kanauj* and *Mâlwa* families, both by relationship and in some of their commonest family names; or in other words, the *Bais* kings of Kanauj, and the ancient mis-called "*Pramâra*," but really *Bais* kings of *Mâlwa* belonged to one and the same family; and the *Valabhis* or *Guhâdityas*, who were descended from the same race as the *Şâkyas* of *Kapilavastu* and *Şrâvasti*, were closely connected with the *Malwa* and *Kanauj* dynasties, both by mutual family relationship and in some of their commonest family names. But the great king *Sâlivâhan*, while reputed to be the progenitor of the *Bais* tribe, was also called "*Sâkâditya*," this is, Lord of the *Sâkas!*" Consequently, if *Sâlivâhâna* was both a *Şâka* and a *Bais*, then the "*Sâkas*" and the *Bais* were the same people, and the "*Sâkas*" and the "*Bais*" are in the above passages drawn into close connection with the race to which the *Sâkyas* and *Balabhis* belonged. Mr. Thomas has made a remark of nearly the same kind, on the subject of some apparent links of connection between the *Valabhis* and the *Guptas* (whose

[1] Julien's Huen Thsang, from p. 111, and onwards to pp. 233 and 242.

generic title, by-the-bye, would appear to proclaim them to have been of the *Vaishya* caste!). Mr. Thomas, in his Edition of Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, vol. I, p. 265, says :—

"Appended * * * * * will be found whatever information is afforded by *Huen Thsang* regarding the annals of the *Valabhis*, a race we shall discover to have been intimately connected by community of insignia, and associated by other minor coincidences with the dynasty to which this note is especially devoted." [*i. e.*, The "*Guptas*," or kings of *Kanauj* ?]

Lastly, *Sâlivâhan*, or *Sâtavahan. alias* "*Sakaditya*" has already been identified with "*Gotamipûtra Sâtakarni*," the great king of Andhra; from which it would therefore appear that the *Andhra* dynasty of Varunkol, and the Bais dynasties of *Malwa* and *Kanauj*, must have been of the same stock or race or derived from one common origin; and finally, to sum up, consequently that the *Baîs* kings, and the kings of *Andhra*, who may be called the *Gotamiputra* dynasty, and the *Sâkas*, would seem to have been all simply so many correlated branches of one great race, and all originally derived from the same root stock? *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

There is, however, one circumstance connected with *Sâlivâhan*, which may at first, perhaps, appear rather puzzling, and that is :—that *Sâlivâhan* is called both "*Sâkâri*" and "*Sâkâditya*," that is,—enemy of the *Sâkas*, and sun or lord supreme of the *Sâkâs*. In General Cunningham's essay on the "*Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps*" (Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1854, p. 687) he remarks upon the "jumble," or confusion, which had been made "by confounding "*Sâkâditya*," the chief of the *Sâkas*, with Vikramâditya, the *Sâkâri*, or "foe of the Sâkas;" and he appears to suggest the identification of *Sâkâditya* with the great Indo-Scythic king *Kanishka*. Again, in the Ethnological Introduction to General Cunningham's Archæological Reports for the year 1863-64, page 21, he says :—

"The father of *Sâlivâhan* lost his life in battle against the invaders, while the young prince established a new capital at Sâlbâhanpur, which is generally identified with Syâlkot, to the east of the Chenab. Afterwards he defeated the Indo-Scythians in a great and decisive battle near Kharor, within 60 miles of Multân. So great was the fame of this victory, that the conqueror assumed the title of *Sakari*, or Foe of the *Sâkas*," and received from his subjects the auspicious title of *Sri*. At the same time, to commemorate the event, he established the *Sâkaria* from the date of the battle,—an epoch which is still in general use throughout India. Lastly, in his "Ancient Geography of India," p. 533, General Cunningham says :—"*Sakaditya* is one of the common titles of *Sâlivâ-*

hana and the *Sâka* era, which was established by him, is usually called in ancient inscriptions *Sâka-bhupa Kâla*, or *Sâka-nripa Kâla*." And again at page 542 he says :—"I have already suggested that Gotamiputra Satakirni was probably the same person as the great Sâlivâhan, or Sâdavâhan, who established the Sâke era; and I am inclined to assign the foundation of the Amaravati stûpa to him, in about A.D. 90, and its completion to Yâduya Sri Sâtakarni, one of his successors, who ascended the throne in A.D. 142."

These three extracts from General Cunningham's writings would appear to be contradictory of one another; but if so, it is only for the very good reason that General Cunningham's knowledge of the facts and circumstances of those times has vastly increased, and that he has gradually accumulated a much greater mass of facts concerning Sâlivâhan and the Sâkas and Sâtakarni, during the course of so many years of painstaking investigation.

I may also here refer to Dr. Bhau Dhaji's reported opinion that *Sâlivâhan* was an *Indo-Scylhian Sâka*.

Now here we find *Sâlivâhan* called both "*Sâkâri*" and "*Sâkaditya*;" and considered both as an enemy and as a king of the Sâkas, and himself as a Sâka. Consequently, when Sâlivâhan gained a victory over the Sâkas, the fact was simply this,—that a prince of one tribe of Sâkas gained a victory over another tribe of Sâkas. It was, in short, simply a case of "diamond cut diamond," or *Sâka beat Sâka!* and this is the point which I wish to impress. We moreover find that General Cunningham has identified *Sâlivâhan* with *Gotamiputra Sâtauarni*; which opens up to us an entirely new view of Indian history.

But this is not all: for we know that according to the genealogy of the *Yadu* Bhattis of Jessalmer, they were descended from *Sâlivâhan*; and that the great-grandson of Sâlivâhan, named *Chakito*, is said to have gone to Balkh, or Bukhâra, and to have married the only daughter of the chief of the Usbek Turks, and to have become, in consequence, the chief of the *Chakitai*, or *Chagitai Tatars*. Now if Sâlivâhan was a *Sâka*, and if the Yadus of Jessalmer were descended from Sâlivâhan, it of course naturally follows that the *Yadus* must have been Sâkas! And if the *Yadus* were *Sâkas*, as the *Yadus* were of the Lunar race, it necessarily follows that the whole of the Lunar race of Kshatriyas must have been *Sâkas*. But, according to the records and traditions of the *Jains* (which are always more genuine and dependable than those of the Brahmans), the *Lunar* and *Solar* races were both descended from the same ancestor; for according to the Jains,

Adinâth, who was the same as *Adibuddha*, had two sons, *Bharat* and *Bahûbala*; and *Bharat* was the ancestor of the *Surya-vansis*, or *Solar* race, while *Bahûbala* was the ancestor of the *Chandravansis*, or *Lunar* race. (See Tod's "Travels in Western India," pp. 278 and 279.) Now if, as I have shown, the *Lunar* race were *Sakas*, and if the *Lunar* and *Solar* races were both descended from one and the same ancestor, it follows that the *Solar* race must also have been *Sâkas*; and consequently that the whole of the *Kshatriyas* of India, both *Solar* and *Lunar*, must have been *Sâkas*, or *Scythians!* The only conclusion, therefore, that we can draw from these facts is this; either that the *Kshatriyas* of India were *not* Aryans, or else that the *Sâkas were* Aryans. My own belief is that the *Sâkas* were *Aryans*, as I hope to be able to show in a separate treâtise, devoted specially to the consideration of such ethnological questions.

These are certainly startling conclusions, but they are inevitable; and they must stand until they can be disproved by counter facts.

There are two other curious facts that I would like to notice, before concluding. According to the annals of the Guhalas or Sisodias of Mewar, as given in Tod's "*Rajasthan*," Bâppa, or Vâpaka, the ancestor of the Mewar family, is said to have retired to *Khorasân* after having settled his family at Chitor. But what in the world did Vâpaka want at *Khorasân* unless he had connections or relations there? All this is simply "grist to my mill."

Again, the "*Gotama Gotra*" is named by Tod as one of the branches of the *Râhtors*, or *Râshtrakutas* (Rajasthan, "II, 2; note); and he states also that they were descended from *Yuvanâswa*, of the Solar race.[1] Now this is absolutely true, in one sense; for the Râhtors are supposed to have been the progeny of the *liaison* which *Indra* had with *Ahalyâ*, the wife of *Gotama* Muni. The Râhtors are therefore descended from the same mother as the Gautamas.

The above detailed concatenation of startling facts and arguments will perhaps be enough to astonish any sceptics of the old school who may read this Report. But I shall have something more to say, further on, about the *Sâkas* of *Kumaon* or Kurmâvan,—the *Thârus*, the *Magars*, and the *Khasas*. And if I shall eventually be able to upset and expose the

[1] NOTE.—And let it be remembered that *Yuvanâswa* has already been identified with *Jobnâth*, or *Jobnâs*, of Sangala, in the Panjâb.

falsity of the *lying traditions* of the Brahmans, and to root out the foolish amount of credence that has hitherto blindly been accorded to them, I trust I shall have done good service!

Since writing the above, my opinions on this subject, or rather the results which I have deduced from the preceding accumulation of facts, have been still further confirmed by some remarks made by General Cunningham, in his Archæological Report of 1872-1873. At page 96, in speaking of Jobnâth Nagar, the ancient Bhadrâvati Nagari, General Cunningham says :—

> "I have already suggested the identity of *Jobnath* and *Sophytes*, or *Sopeithes.*"

And in a foot-note he says :—

> "I have a strong suspicion that *Jobnâth* is only a slightly-altered form of *Jobnâs*, or *Yuvanâswa*, whose Aswamedha horse was carried off by the Pândus from Bhadrâvati.

We may, however, totally discard and dispense with the apocryphal story about the Pândus, and simply be content to take it for granted that *Jobnâth*, or *Jobnâs*, is really a contraction or corruption of *Yuvanâswa*, which was the name of a king who lived many centuries after the Pândus, and probably in the time of Alexander the Great; and that either *Jobnâth*, or *Jobnâs*, or *Yuvanâswa*, or else his son "*Suveg*," was the same as *Sophytes*. But in the Ethnological introduction to General Cunningham's Archæological Report of 1863-64, pages 35 to 40, General Cunningham has identified the *Kathæi* and *Sobii* as the subjects of *Sophytes;* and he makes them out to have been *Turanians*—that is, of the same race as the Indo-Sythians and Sâkas. But from the extremely handsome, regular, and aquiline *Aryan* features of *Sophytes*, as represented on his coins, and from the handsome *Aryan* features, fair complexions, and stalwart forms of the *Kathi* of the present day, who are the representatives of the ancient *Kathæi*, it is utterly impossible that they could be *Turanians* at all, if by the hackneyed term "*Turanians*" is meant a people the same as the *Tatars* and *Mongolians*. I therefore believe that *Sophytes* and the *Kathæi*, and their kinsmen the Sobii, and their representatives the present *Kathis* and *Balas*, were originally simply independent *Aryans*, who never became Hindus, or a secondary or later colony of *Aryans*, who arrived in the Panjâb after the Brahmanical system of caste had been established, and to which they refused to submit—very likely because they knew and felt that they were actually purer *Aryans* than the

Hindus, and therefore did not require to be ticketed as one of the doubtful castes of Hindus by the cunning and designing Brahmans. It was the *hybridism* or *mongrelism* of the Hindus, by miscegenation with the aborigines, which brought about the necessity of caste laws; but the *Kathæi*, being pure-blooded *Aryans*, marrying among themselves, were no doubt too proud and independent to submit to the caste laws of the inferior mongrel Hindus.

But if *Jobnâth*, or *Jobnâs*, was the same as *Yuvanâswa*, and he or his son *Suveg* was the same as *Sophytes*, then *Yuvanâswa* must have been a king of the *Kathæi* and *Sobii*. But *Yuvanâswa* was one of the ancestors of the Solar race of Kshatriyas, and an ancestor of *Prasenajit*, Raja of *Srâvasti*, and an ancestor of the *Sâkyas*, and an ancestor of *Kanals Sena* or *Bhatârka Senapati* and of the Sena Rajas of Balabhi in Saurashtra, and an ancestor of their descendants, the Guhilas, or Gahilots, of Mewar. Consequently all these must be of the same race as the ancient *Kathæi* and *Sobii*, and the modern *Kathi* and *Balas*. And we know, from the ancient traditions about the *Sâkyas*, that they are said to have originally come from a place called "*Potala*," in Saurashtra, or in Sindh; and we also know that *Kritanjaya*, of the same race, is said to have founded the nation of the *Sawyas* in Sawrashtra, and that *Kanak Sena*, or "*Bhatârka Senapati*," of the same race, is said to have founded the kingdom and dynasty of *Balabhi.* *

All this simply aids, as a parallel case, to prove and to establish what I have previously said, in another case, about the *Sâkas*,—that they were *Aryans*. And in like manner, if *Jobnâth*, *Jobnâs*, or *Yuvanâswa*, and his son *Suveg*, or *Sophytes*, were kings of the *Kathæi* and *Sobii*, and ancestors of the Solar race generally, and ancestors of the *Srâvasti Kosalas*, the *Sâkyas*, and of the *Balabhis* and *Guhilas*, or *Gahilots*, in particular, that does *not* prove that all these various peoples, or nations, or clans, were *Turanians* at all: but it proves that their common ancestors, *Jobnâth*, *Jobnâs*, or *Yuvansûwa*, and *Suveg*, or *Sophytes*, were *Aryans*—and consequently, therefore, that their subjects, kinsmen, clansmen, and descendants were *Aryans!*

This is in a manner proved by the converse case of *Śâlivâhan*, called *Śâkâditya*, and the *Sâkas*. *Sâlivâhan* was a descendant of Krishna, and he was the ancestor of several still existing clans of *Yadus*, or *Chandravansis*, including the Yadu Bhattis of Jessalmer, as well as the *Bais* tribe of Raj-

puts. Yet we find it also now proved that *Sâlivâhan* was at *Sâka*, or Indo-Scythian,—a king of the *Sâkas*,—and the founder of the *Sâka* Era! But this does *not* prove that the *Yadus* and *Bais* were *Turanians*; but it proves that the *Sâkas* were *Aryans!* And General Cunningham must surely see that this deduction is inevitable, just as well as I do; and he cannot well bear witness, as he has done, to the truth of such a fact in one case, without also allowing its truth in another similar parallel case.

General Cunningham apparently rests his criterion, or test, as to who are *Aryans*, or rather Hindus, and who are not, on the one single point of marriage. He holds that all people who will not marry any of the women of their own tribe, but only those of some other tribe, are *Aryans*, or rather, more properly, Hindus,—and that all people who do marry women of their own tribe are *Turanians*. At that rate, then, the *Yadus* must be *Turanians*,—the *Parsis* must be *Turanians*, and all of us Europeans must be *Turanians*. In short, it would seem that all people who do not, or will not, or are too independent to follow the comparatively modern Hindu but not ancient (*Aryan*) customs of marriage, must be pitched headlong together into the *Turanian* hell, or into what might be called a convenient *Turanian* waste-paper basket for all unaccounted-for ethnological odds and ends.

There are, however, three points which must be taken into consideration:—Firstly, that we have no warrant whatever for supposing that Central Asia was entirely emptied at once of every single Aryan soul when the first Aryan colonists first entered India,—or that *all* the Aryans came into India in one single lump, or colony, at first, or all at the same time,—or that not a single Aryan, or no Aryan colonists or invaders, ever came into India afterwards. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that there were plenty of Aryans still left in Central India,—and that several successive Aryan colonies entered India at various different times; and that of these, the latest Aryan colonists may have been driven into India at a very late period, by the first Turanian hordes pressing them from behind. And the last of these several Aryan colonies may have entered India after the older Aryan settlers had degenerated into effeminate, mongrel, and exclusive Hindus, and after the laws of caste had been established. And if any such late Aryan colonists *did* enter India after the laws of caste had been established, two resultant consequences would most certainly follow:—

one of which would be that these later, newer, fresher, and therefore purer *Aryan* colonists would treat the degenerated, dark-complexioned *Hindus,* and their degenerated Indianised forms of religion and Indianised customs, and their enslaved caste system and servility to the Brahmans, with haughty contempt and aversion, and would keep themselves exclusively aloof from them, and would probably not marry any of the weaker, darker-complexioned *Hindu* women if they could possibly help it; and they would thus be obliged to marry among themselves. The other consequence would be, that the older, cast-enslaved *Hindus,* and more especially the jealous and ambitious Brahman hierarchy, would most certainly refuse to incaste any of these later, or newer, Aryan colonists, or perhaps invaders, as *Hindus,*—or, in other words, they would refuse to admit them within the *Hindu pale,*—and they would thus be vindictively classed, as we find in the *Code of Manu,* among the tribes who were debarred from caste privileges, on account of their disregard of Brahmans,—which, of course, we can only believe if we are such fools as to take for gospel the Brahmanical version of everything, but which I, for one, never did, and never will do. Yet, from all that we know now, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the Brahmans, either from fear or compulsion, or from politic reasons for their own purposes and interests, did afterwards in-caste or admit some of these later Aryan colonists, or invaders, within the Hindu pale, as *Kshatriyas.* In fact, I suspect that any superior, warlike, victorious tribe, who would fight for the Brahmans, or whom the Brahmans could gain over to their interests, would be immediately incasted, or admitted, as *Kshatriyas;* while any less fortunate or less powerful tribe, who opposed the pretensions of the Brahmans, would be refused and debarred, or kept without the Hindu pale. And any later *Aryan* colonists, who were thus left in the latter debarred or *non*-privileged predicament, without the *Hindu* pale, would be placed in much the same position as that in which the *Parsis* now stand in India.

Now, the *Parsis* who entered India as colonists in later times, are the lineal representatives of the ancient Persians, and of the "*Airyânem Vâêjo,*" of the Zend Avesta. The Parsis are therefore genuine, pure, and typical *Aryans.* They are genuine, because they truly represent the ancient Aryans of Persia. They are pure, because they have been obliged to marry among themselves. They are typical, because

the very characteristic features and general physiognomy which mark the Parsis, and even the peculiar head-dress which is still worn by them, are absolutely exactly the very same as represented in the most ancient Persian sculptures, which show us the features and dress of the ancient Persian Aryans. The *Hindus* have altered and deteriorated much and wofully from the typical Aryan ; but the *Parsis* appear to be stereotyped in the ancient sculptures of their original country, and they do not appear to have changed at all! In short, the *Parsis* are infinitely purer and more *typical Aryans* than the *Hindus*. Yet the *Parsis* are not, and never could be, *Hindus*; and the Hindus could not possibly admit or incaste the Parsis within their pale. Moreover, the *Parsis* marry among themselves; or, in other words, *Parsi men* marry *Parsi women*. Therefore, according to General Cunningham's theory, or rather according to the dictum of the Brahmans which he follows, we ought to call the *Parsis* "*Turanians*," and to pitch them with the rest into the "*Turanian* waste-paper basket"! I think this only shows how totally fallacious and untenable this Brahmanical view of the matter is. Now, I believe that the handsome, fair, and stalwart *Kâthis*, as the representatives of the ancient *Kathæis*, who were famed for their beauty, as well as the *Balas* and the *Takkas*, or *Taks*, are really the representatives or remains of late, or secondary, *Aryan* colonies, who entered India after the Hindu caste system had been firmly established, and who were therefore never admitted within the Hindu pale. And I believe that when they first entered India, they would find themselves placed in much the same social position as the *Parsis* were when they first settled down in India—that is, as *intrusive Aryans*, who were not *Hindus*. And it is remarkable that there is, even now, a similarity between the relative social positions of the Parsis and the Kâthis. The *Parsis* are fair, and generally tall and robust, with strongly-marked Aryan features; and they are not liked by the Hindus, and are hated by the Muhammadans. The *Kâthis* are fair, and stalwart, with handsome Aryan features; and they are not much liked either by Hindus or genuine Muhammadans. The only special notable difference between the *Kâthis* and the *Parsis* appears to be, that the *Kâthis* are warlike, while the *Parsis* are peaceable in obedience to the tenets of their religion.

This brings me to the second point to be considered, which is, namely, that:—The *Hindus* may, perhaps, be all

Aryans, though I doubt it; but certainly all *Aryans* are not *Hindus*—no, not even in India! There are and were Aryans in India who are not and were not Hindus—such, I hold, as the *Kâthis*, and such as the *Parsis*; and such, I hold, were the ancient *Kâthis*, and such I believe several of the superior and fine-looking tribes of uncertain origin, in the Panjâb, to be, and such were the old Persian invaders long before the rise of Muhammadanism, and such were the Bactrian Greeks; and it is needless to say that India is now ruled by European *Aryans*. Yet none of these are, or ever were or could be, *Hindus*. It is doubtful if the Hindus would even allow that any of them were *Aryans* at all!—it is much more probable that the Hindus would class the whole of them as *mlechhas* and outcasts! But that does not prove that they are not *Aryans!* The ignorant talk of the Hindus can *not* either alter or affect the race or descent of any man; and the world can *not* be led by the nose by ignorant and narrow-minded Hindu prejudice, bigotry, pretension, and nonsense. General Cunningham appears to have partly formed his opinion as to the ethnological classification of the *Kathis* from the social status assigned to them by their conceited, ignorant, and prejudiced Hindu neighbours, who pretend to be the only orthodox people; and because the Hindus choose to class a race of men infinitely superior to themselves in the same category with *Sudras*, therefore of course we must accept the dictum of the Hindus as sacred gospel! But has ever any one else ventured to ask the Hindus in what category they class us Europeans? It is true that we are the conquerors and masters of the country, and therefore the Hindus are afraid to speak their minds too openly. But if this were not the case, and if there had simply been a colony of European settlers, without any power or authority whatever, settled down in one of the provinces of India, and nothing more, then, depend upon it, the Hindus in their prejudice would have classed us far lower down in the scale than *Sudras*, and certainly far lower than the *Kathis*,—simply because we eat beef, and do not pay any deference to Brahmans! But, nevertheless, we British Europeans are *Aryans*, and far more pure and genuine *Aryans* than the Hindus! and no talk of the *Hindus* can alter our race, or make us any less or any different from what we are. It is the *Hindus* who have altered and deteriorated, and not we! The *Hindu* has become the *coffee dregs*, while we have remained the cream of the *Aryan race*. The Hindus are like

the monkey, who pretended to treat some men with contempt because they had bare white skins without any fur! The Hindu has become a sooty, dingy-coloured earthen pot, by rubbing against black aborigines rather too freely; and he consequently pretends to despise the white porcelain bowl!

I have now to deal with the third and last point to be considered. Modern, or even *mediæval Hindu* ideas, customs, practices, and characteristics, and not ancient *Aryan*,—nay, they are not necessarily even Aryan at all! They are neither ancient nor modern Aryan: they are simply Indian, the product of an Indian people, of Indian temperaments, and of an Indian soil and climate. *Hinduism,* generally, was altogether born in India, and it does not possess even a single element of Aryan parentage, or that is not wholly and peculiarly Indian. The Brahmanical system is entirely of Indian growth, and it is not Aryan; for it has not a single spark of Aryan life or spirit in the whole of it, from beginning to end. No genuine, free, manly, healthy *Aryan* brains could ever have conceived or concocted the stereotyped narrow-mindedness, or the mixture of abjectness and selfishness, displayed in the *Code of Manu.* The characteristics of the close-fisted, hard-hearted, grasping, cringing, calculating, narrow-minded, selfish, merciless, pettily tyrannical, but otherwise cold-blooded, stolid, and apathetic Indian *Baniya,* run through the whole of it. It was this total want, or loss, of all trace of *Aryan* spirit and feeling, which caused the Hindus to forsake the *Vedas* of the *Aryans,* and to take to the *fetish worship* of the *aborigines.* Not because the *Vedas* were at all unsuitable to the *Aryan* mind, but because the *Hindus* had become totally unfitted for, and unable either to appreciate or to understand, the *Vedas*—and in short because the *Vedas* were too generally *Aryan* in character for the degenerate *Hindus,* who had become too Indianised to have any longer the feelings of Aryans. They had even ceased to take any pride in the term *Arya,* as the general appellation of a widely-extended race, including many nations: They had even almost forgotten the name. The Persians had still preserved the name with pride. But the Hindus had discarded and disowned their Persian brethren; and they had forgotten and knew nothing about any other *Aryans.* The Hindu would not call any man his brother, except a *Hindu.* Their enslavement into the narrow, griping trammels of unalterable and for-ever-stereotyped divisions into castes, cut the Hindus off entirely from all rest of the world;

and the only world which the Hindu knew was India; and the only region he cared to know of was the town or village he happened to live in. He knew of no such thing as a united nation, and had no feelings or conceptions of nationality or patriotism. He cared for no people on earth except his own caste-fellows. By this *denationalizing caste system,* the Brahmans well knew how to emasculate and break up a nation, and to make it powerless either for union or opposition, and subservient to their own schemes and machinations. But the Brahmans, or whoever invented the caste system, overleapt themselves, for by this system of alienating and estranging man from man, they also succeeded in so entirely breaking up the Indian nation that it became utterly powerless for defence, and became a prey to every invader who chose to take the trouble to walk into the country. The inventors of the *caste system* were cowards, who thought only of themselves, and feared that, if "union was strength," it might be employed against *themselves*; and therefore they preferred that "*disunion*" should be "*weakness*," at all hazards, and at whatever cost. But they fell by the consequences of their own machinations, by the swords of those whom the weakness they had produced invited.

The caste system was not Aryan, and repugnant to the independent feelings of free Aryans; it was wholly Indian. Genuine Aryans have no necessity for any caste system, because there is no wholesale mixture with inferior races, or no miscegenation, and therefore no castes to divide. A caste system is not a sign of purity of race, but it is a sure index of hybridism, mongrelism, or miscegenation; and therefore the very existence of the caste system among the *Hindus* is alone, of itself, a sufficient proof that the Hindus were not pure Aryans, but a mixed race. The animus of the Hindu caste system is a very different thing from the objection felt by a bluff Englishman against marrying what he calls a *nigger*, and being the father of *half-breeds*. But the Indian caste system shows long-practised and finical, and even fastidious distinctions between very fine gradations of caste, and in numerous divisions of one single caste; so that sometimes persons belonging simply to different branches or divisions of one so-called caste will not eat together. All this shows a condition of doubt and suspicion—a state of constant doubt as to the amount or degree of purity of blood possessed by any person; and a constant suspicion of some mixture, or impurity, in numberless and infinitessimal grada-

tions. This is just as if each one Hindu constantly said to every other Hindu :—"I do not know what amount of hybridism or impurity may belong to you. I believe that I possess such and such a measure or amount of the blood of my caste; what amount of blood do you possess?" It would really appear as if there was no such thing as any single Hindu, of even the highest caste, who really possessed anything like the full number of annas to the rupee of Aryan blood,—but probably, at most, very far below it! It is simply a case of each pot calling the other black and impure. And yet this indelible badge of mongrelism is the *caste* in which the Hindus take so much pride!

Of the modern, or at least only middle-aged, Hindu practices and institutions, which are not only not ancient Aryan, but, properly speaking, not Aryan at all, the principal ones are four, namely :—1, the caste system,—2, widow-burning,—3, the restrictions or prohibitions against marrying a woman of the same tribe,—4, the murder of their infant daughters by Râjputs.

The first of these I have already sufficiently discussed. The second and fourth do not require proof as to their not being ancient, as this fact is now well known. The third is important, as, upon the fact of the men of any tribe marrying women of their own tribe or not, the criterion is supposed to depend as to whether such a tribe is of Aryan origin or not,—or, to use General Cunningham's mode of expressing it,—whether they are Aryans or *Turanians.* I have already partially disproved or shown the fallacy of this idea, and explained much of it away, by what I have said about the Kathis and the Parsis; and I have shown that it could not possibly be an ancient Aryan law or custom, at all,—although it might be a comparatively modern or medæival Hindu regulation. But I may now bring forward one or two examples to show that it is not even an old Hindu law, and that it is no more ancient than widow-burning or daughter-murdering.

I believe it is pretty well known that, according to tradition, the ancient Yadus married among themselves,—that is, that they married women of their own tribe. Or, if this fact is not generally known to all, it may be proved conversely by the practice of numerous families of Yadu descent, at the present day, who marry women of the same tribe; and they give as their reason for doing so that the ancient Yadus, in the time of Krishna, married women of their own tribe. Kuar Lachman

Singh, Deputy Collector of Bûlandshahr, in his memoir of Zillah Bûlandshahr, remarks on the very same fact. At page 161 he says :—

"Jâdons of these provinces intermarrry sometimes with other Râjput tribes, but as a rule, they retain the custom of intermarriage amongst themselves, which prevailed at the time of *Krishna,* although they incur reproach for it from the other Rajputs."

Here, then, we find Yâdu Râjputs still preserving the original marriage customs of their primitive ancestors, in spite of modern Hindu innovations. And in this we have one proof, in the Lunar race, at least, that Kshatriyas both did and do marry women of their own tribe.

I will now give another instance, in the Solar race.

It is stated in the Buddhist Chronicles, that when Prince Siddhârtha, afterwards known as Sâkya Sinha, or Buddha, was of age to be married, his father, Suddhodana, sent notice to all the other Sâkya princes, to send their daughters, as he was about to choose a wife for his own. After some further parley, the Sâkya maidens came, and the lady chosen was Yasodhara, who became the wife of Prince Siddhârtha. Here, then, we find the Sâkya Prince Siddhârtha marrying a woman of his own tribe, the Sâkya Princess Yasodharâ. It would therefore appear that, in the time of Buddha, it was customary, or at least permissable, for Kshatriyas of the Solar race to marry women of their own tribe.

We have found that some of the Yâdu Kshatriyas still practice this old custom; and there is no reason why there may not be still some tribes of Aryan descent in the Punjâb and Sindh, &c., who may never have conformed to the modern Brahmanical *régime* at all, and who may therefore still continue to practise the custom of marrying among their own tribe. And of such I would instance the Kathis, whose general physical and other characteristics plainly prove them to be Aryans of a superior type.

13.—SITE OF KAPILAVASTU.

I will now proceed to my more special report on the result of my actual investigations and explorations at *Bhuila,* as my proposed site of Kapilavastu; and also of other more extended investigations and explorations in its neighbourhood, for the identification of other important sites or places mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrims Fa Hian and Huen Thsang.

I may, however, at once premise this much,—that my identification of *Bhuila* as the actual site of Kapilavastu would appear, so far as it is possible for me to decide up to the present time, to be pretty nearly certain, if not absolutely conclusive; or that it has, at least, nearly every possible point and argument all in its favour. I may also state that my explorations have as yet resulted in apparently confirming an opinion that Remusat's translation of Fa Hian's travels, as given by Laidlay, is decidedly the most correct account (in a geographical point of view) of Kapilavastu, but especially as to the position of certain important sites, either in its immediate neighbourhood or at some little distance from it. General Cunningham has himself expressed this opinion;—and I may here avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging that I am indebted to General Cunningham for some useful comparative abstracts from the texts of the travels of Fa Hian and Huen Thsang, as given, respectively, by Julien, Beal, and Remusat, or Laidlay—indeed, I may say that, without the great sagacity of General Cunningham, as chief pilot, to point my ship's prow in the right direction, I might not, perhaps, have reached the desired haven either so easily or so fortunately, and certainly not so speedily.

In other words, when a man's nose has been pointed pretty nearly in the right direction, it becomes easy for him to follow it, if he will!

But in order to find Kapilavastu,—or rather, before one could be at all sure that one had found it,—it was necessary that one should, at the same time, be able to identify the sites of several other places which are said to have been situated at various distances from it, and which were intimately connected with its history, or had been mentioned in connection with it by Buddhist writers.

In order to illustrate the necessary requirements of the case, let us imagine some parallel instance nearer home. Let us suppose that some existing European city, with which we are well acquainted, were at some future period to become so utterly ruined and deserted that, a thousand years afterwards, the site which it had occupied was not known any longer, and that even its name had become nearly lost, or was forgotten by the succeeding inhabitants, and was only preserved in a few old chronicles. Let us, as an imaginary case, for convenience sake, select the well-known and now proud city of Berlin, the capital of Prussia; and let us suppose that, owing to the subversion of the monarchy by some revolution,

and the subsequent conquest of the country by some neighbouring power, and a fanatic persecution and expulsion of all who professed the Lutheran form of religion, the city of Berlin had been despoiled, ravaged, and ruined, and was consequently deserted; and had for years been left so utterly desolate and forsaken, that even its name had become nearly forgotten; and also that the name of the river on which it stood, or the names of other rivers near it or in its neighbourhood, had become totally altered or changed,—and suppose that, a thousand years afterwards, some traveller, occupied in antiquarian or geographical researches, and interested in the former history and religion of the country, was anxious to discover, to explore, and to make a survey of the site of the old capital city; such a person, then, in order to verify his investigations, would find it necessary, also, at the same time, to be able to identify the sites of several other places of note, either in the neighbourhood or at some distance from it, which had existed contemporaneously with it, and the names of which had been mentioned in connection with it, by former historians. He would thus, then, also probably have to identify the sites of the following places:—

1.—Charlottenburg.
2.—Potsdam; and the palace of Sans Souci.
3.—The fortress of Spandau.
4.—The Rivers Spree and Havel; the names of which had become totally changed.
5.—The city of Brandenburg.
6.—The fortified city of Königsberg.
7.—Also the relative positions and distances of all these places with regard to each other; and the relative distances of the last six, and of the site of Berlin itself, from the city of Brandenburg.
8.—The site of the Kreutzberg, near Berlin.

but in order to make this identification at all satisfactory, it was, as I have already intimated, also absolutely necessary that I should, at the same time, be able to discover and identify several other sites of interest at various distances from it, which were mentioned by the Chinese travellers Fa Hian and Huen Thsang, or had been noticed in some Buddhist books or chronicles, and which sites were intimately connected with the history and position of Kapilavastu.

These may be shortly enumerated as follows:—

1.—The birth-place of Kraku-chanda, or Karkutchanda-Buddha Place called Napika, or Napikia, by the Chinese travellers.

2.—The birth-place of Kanaka-muni Buddha, an ancient city called Sobhavati Nagara.

3.—The site of the massacre of the Sâkyas, where there were a great number of Stûpas.

4.—Stûpa at a place where Buddha sat under a tree, the shadow of which remained stationary over him.

5.—A stûpa a short distance to the south of the city of Kapilavastu, from which Sâkya Mûni shot an arrow.

6.—The Sarakûpa, or arrow fountain (some distance to the south-west or south-east of Kapilavastu), where the arrow shot by Sâkya Mûni struck the ground.

7.—A river, formerly called the *Rohini.*

8.—A public garden called *Lumbini,* some distance eastwards from Kapila.

9.—A tank, or well, in the Lumbini garden, in which the infant Buddha was washed.

10.—A small river, called the River of Oil, which flowed near the Lumbini garden.

11.—The city of Koli, or Vyâghrapûra, the residence of Suprabuddha, the father of Maya Dévi, the mother of Sâkya Buddha.

12.—The Nyagrodha monastery, near the Rohini River.

13.—Kshèmavati, the capital of Raja Kshèma, of Mekhala.

14.—Râmagrâma, an ancient city where there was a famous stûpa.

15.—Maneya, a place where Buddha crossed a river, called either the Avami or the Anoma.

Now, a search after all these places put together would alone be almost more than enough for any one single archæological tour, more especially when another fact is known and taken into consideration, namely, that the Chinese travellers themselves differ totally from one another in their accounts as to the position or localisation of three of the places mentioned; and not only that, but in two different translations of the travels of one of the Chinese pilgrims, the translators differ from one another as to the position of two of the places.

I believe, however, that I have nevertheless been able to identify the following sites or places:—

1.—Bhuïla Dih, as Kapilavastu, situated on a lake called Bhuïl Tâi in Parganah Mansûrnagar, in the District of Basti.

2.—The stûpa of archery, about half a mile to the south of the site of the old town (or rather to the south-south-east of the citadel, containing the ruins of the palace) at Bhuïla.

3.—The Sarakupa, at Sarkûhia, 4½ miles to the south from Bhuïla.

4.—The place and stûpas of the massacre of the Sâkyas, at Bhatâ or Kosähara, about a mile and a half to the north-west from Bhuïla.

5.—The birth-place of Kraku-chanda, at Nagar, or Khajûra Nagara, 8 miles to the north-west from Bhuïla.

6.—The birth-place of *Kanaka mûni*, at Khopoa Dih, near *Kanakpûr*, 6 miles to the west from Bhuïla.

7.—Kshèmavati, at a large mound of ruins near Khém-râj-pûr, in the northern part of Parganah Amorha, 13 miles to the west-north-west from Bhuïla.

8.—The Rohini River, an old bed or former course of the Rawai, or Roâi, or Rohwai, river, which comes from the west of Sheopûr; or, in other words, the Dôchûañ Nala, which comes from the Bhuïla Lake, and passes by Buṛhapâra.

9.—The River of Oil, the small Gädi and Majhora rivers, which pass to the south of Sheopûr, and unite below Hardi.

10.—The Lumbini Garden, probably near Sheopûr; or between Sheopûr and Buṛhapâra.

11.—The tank in which the infant Buddha was washed, probably a tank to the south-west of Buṛhapâra Dih.

12.—Koli, or Vyâghrapûra, at a place called the Barâh Chhetra, or Varâha Kshetra, near an ancient embankmeut in a bend of the Kuâno river, about 9½ miles to the east from Bhuïla. Here there are two elevated spots covered with fragments of brick and old pottery. The Varâha Kshetra is the Vyâghrapuri of the Purânas.

13.—The Nyagrodha monastery, perhaps a mound of ruins close to the north-west of Sheopur; and there is a village near it called Bargadaiya, which is the same as the Sanskrit Nyagrodha. Or else, at *Bâwarpâra*, about a mile and a quarter to the south of Bhuïla Dih.

14.—Râmagrâma, probably at an extensive mound of ruins, called *Korau Dih*, near two places called Nagra and Bhagwanpur, to the south-east of a large lake in Parganah Mhowlee (or Mahuli?), in the southern part of the District of Basti, and distant 28 miles to the east-south-east from Bhuïla. Or else, at Warai Dih, a mound of ruins about a mile and a half to the north-east of Maihsôñ, or Mahesôñ, in the north-western corner of Parganah Mhowlee, and 20 miles to the south-east from Bhuïla.

15.—Maneya, probably a mound of ruins close to the south-east of a place now called *Mheneea* in the maps, near a small river called the Khudua Nala, in Parganah Hassanpurgarh, distant 36 miles to the south-east from Bhuïla.

I believe I have also discovered several of the ten deserted towns mentioned by the Chinese traveller Huen Thsang.

I will now proceed to notice, describe, and consider the various places above mentioned, in due order, seriatim.

1.—BHUILA.

In his *Geography of Ancient India*, General Cunningham has made the remark that "no trace of the name of Kapila has yet been discovered." This is literally true. Even I myself, searching on the spot, and at the same time

scrutinising the names of places in the maps, have not been able to find any place bearing a name that had the least resemblance to that of Kapila, except, indeed, one small village called *Kopal* in the maps, situated to the north of the upper part of the Kuâni River, near Bhânpur Thana. But there is no lake there (and it is thus totally wanting in one of the most necessary features of Kapilavastu). Moreover, I have not been able to hear of any mound of ruins at Kopal, and I find besides that there is another village of the same name in Oudh.

But even although we might not be able to find any trace of the actual name of Kapilavastu, yet it was quite possible that some other name, or synonyme, of equivalent signification might have remained. It was also quite possible, or indeed, perhaps probable, that Kapilavastu may have been only the traditional, or classical, book name of the capital of the Sâkyas, and that the common, vulgar, or popular name of the place, by which it was generally or familiarly known among the local peasantry, may have been quite different. For instance, the common, vulgar, or locally popular name of the pargana in which Bhuïla is situated, is Marua, or Mahârawa; but in the maps it is called the Pargana of Mansârnagar, or Parganah Basti. In the case of Delhi neither the ancient Hindu name of the place, Indraprastha, nor the later Muhammadan name of the place, Shahjahanabâd, are now in use at all; but only the name of *Dilli*, which belongs to a middle period of the history of the city, although connected with an old tradition. So, also, the ancient city of Saketa is now only known among the people as *Ajudhia* (or "Ayodhya"). Again, Pâtaliputra is now known as Patna. And yet, in these three cases, the cities still exist, and are now occupied by inhabitants! How much more, then, may a change of name, or the use of some more popular synonyme, have taken place in the case of an ancient city like Kapilavaṣtu, which no longer exists, and which was known to be totally and hopelessly ruined and deserted, and entirely without either king or people, nearly twelve centuries ago!

Now, it struck me that at least the termination *ïla* of the two names of *Kap-ïla* and *Bhu-ïla* was exactly the same, and that there might be something in that; and that the two first syllables of the two names *Kap* and *Bhu* might, perhaps, eventually, on analysis, turn out to be synonymous; for the Sanskrit radical *Kâ* is said to signify earth or soil, and *bhû* also signifies ground, or land, or place.

But the difficulty was, what to make of the letter *p* in the syllable *Kap* of Kapila, unless, indeed, we supposed that Bhuila was a corruption of Bhûpila; and that as *Bhup* meant king, sovereign, so also *Kap* might mean head, or top, or chief, as the root of the Sanskrit word *Kapâl*, which means head, forehead, which is also found in the Greek *Kephalé* and *Kephalos*, and in the Latin *Caput* and *Capta*, the German *Kopf*, and the English *cap* and *cope* and *cape*. In the Gaëlo-Celtic language *Copan* means the pan of the head, or the hollow of skull. The Greek word *Kephalos* has been shown by Max Müller to be a mythological name for the *Dawn*, as well as the Latin *Capta*. Now, the *Dawn* has also been connected with and personified as the god of Love, and hence we find the Sanskrit *Kâma* represented by the Gaëlo-Celtic *Camh* and *Camhanach*, which mean the *Dawn*, from which we have also the Gaëlo-Celtic *Caomh*, which means affection, loving-kindness, geniality, and *Caomhachas*, which means dalliance, sensual love, lust. And as, according to Celtic rules, *Caomh*, love, is derived from *Camh*, which means the Dawn, it proves that the first idea or conception of the Sanskrit Kâma must have been as the Dawn! Now, in the above words we also find the root *Ka*. We must also remember that the Greek *Eros* signified both Love and the Dawn, according to Max Müller; and that *Kephalos*, the husband of *Prokris* (that is *Prōx*, the Dew), was also one of the Greek mythological names of the dawning sun, or the morning. The root *Ka*, or *Kap*, is also found in the Sanskrit compound words *Vrishâ-kapi* and *Vrisha-kapâyî*, which are used in the *Rig Veda*, apparently as epithets of the dewy dawn, and of the glittering light of the morning sun; and the Sanskrit Vrisha-kapi is evidently the same as the Greek *Erikapaeos*.

In Latin, *Capta* was a name of Minerva, who, being the same as the Greek *Athēnē*, was also the same as the Sanskrit *Ahânâ*, the day, the dawn, the morning.

If, therefore, the Sanskrit radical *Kap* may originally have referred to the tremulous light of the early dawn, or the nodding head of day, and then afterwards have come to mean head, or tip, or top, it would have much the same meaning as *bhûp*, "chief," or "king," or "sovereign."

The above explanation so far, I allow, is not altogether satisfactory, but I cannot think of any better.

Next, with regard to the termination *ila*, in *Kap-ila* and *Bhu-ila*, the Buddhist Chronicles of Tibet say that, when

the infant Buddha, or *Ṣâkya Mûni*, was born, he was carried by his aunt Gotami to a temple, to do homage to the god L'ha![1] This divinity, L'ha, I would identify with the Sanskrit Ilâ, the daughter of the Sun, or with the obsolete masculine form, Ilas, or Ailas, the son of Ilâ, the Sun himself, probably the same as the Trojan mythical hero-patriarch, Ilos, as the name of Ilos is connected with the Greek words *ilè*, "a ball," and *illô*, "to roll," "to turn," "to revolve." Again, the Tibetans are said to have also called Kapilavastu "*L'has-bstan*," which has been interpreted as meaning "shown by a god;" but I am much more inclined to consider this Tibetan appellation as a mere corruption of the Sanskrit *Aila sya-sthâna*, or *Ilâyas-sthâna*, meaning "the place of the sun."

Now, according to a Tibetan tradition made known by Csoma de Körös, and quoted by General Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," Kapilavastu "was founded by some descendants of the Solar hero Gotama, on the bank of a lake near the river Rohini in Kosala." Mark the word *Solar* in the above. In the genealogical lists of the Purânas, also, the names of *Sakya*, or *Siddhârtha*, and *Suddhodana*, are mentioned in the line of the Solar race. Buddha, or Ṣakya Mûni, was also called *Arkabandhu*, or "Kinsman of the Sun."

From the tendency of all of the foregoing points of evidence, therefore, it would appear most natural that the infant Buddha, who was of the Solar race, and who was called "a Kinsman of the Sun," should be first carried to a temple of the Sun in order to do homage to the Sun, as his own supposed divine progenitor. The "temple of the god" L'ha must therefore clearly have been a temple of the Sun, and the god L'ha must have been the Sun,—that is, *Ilas*, or *Ailas*, as the masculine of *Ilâ*, the Sanskrit name of "the daughter of the Sun."

Hence *Bhû-ailasya*, or *Bhû-ilâyâs*, or *Bhû-ilâ*, would mean "the land (or place) of the Sun," or "of the Sunrise," and this I believe to be the true meaning and derivation of the name of *Bhuila*, which, again, would thus correspond to *Ilâyas-sthâna*, or *Ailasya-sthâna*, the "place of the Sun," which I believe to be the true rendering of the Tibetan *L'has-bstan*. Now, it is worthy of remark that *Ilâ-warta*, or *Ilâ-vṛit*, is a name given to one of the divisions of India, in the

[1] Csoma Körosi, As. Res., Vol. XX., p. 289, quoted by Mrs. Speir, "Life in Ancient India," p. 257.

"Bhâgavat" and "Vishnu Purânas," and I believe that *Ilâ-warta* might be identified with *Bhû-ilâ*, or "the land of *Ilâ*.[1]"

Again, the Sanskrit radical *kâ*, as meaning "earth" or "soil," corresponds to the Greek "γῆ," and the Gaelo-Celtic *cê*, "earth." Hence *Kâ-ilasya* would correspond to *Bhû-ilasya*, and, by contraction, *Kâ-ilas* would correspond to *Bhu-ilas*. But *Kailas* is the name of the mountain Paradise of Kuvera and of Siva, and *Kapâli* is a name of Ṣiva. Thus *Bhuilas* would be equivalent to *Kailas*, and *Kapâli-vastu* would mean "the abode of Ṣiva." But it might also mean "the place of skulls." Now, it is remarkable that there is actually a famous Lingam of Siva, at Bhuila, which is called "*Bhûïlêshwar*;" and that there is also an imaginary tomb (or really the remains of the site or foundations of some former temple, or *vihâra*) at the same place, which is vulgarly called the tomb of Bholâ Shahid (a curious combination of Hindi and Arabic, meaning "the innocent martyr"). But *Bholânâth*, or *Bhôla-ishwar*, or *Bhôl-eshwara*, is a well-known name of Siva! I believe, however, that this name of *Bholâ Ṣhahid* may be simply a corruption of *Bholâ Siddha*, meaning "the innocent saint," or of *Bholâ Sarîr*, meaning "the innocent corpse;" and that it really refers to the statue of "the dead man," one of the "four predictive signs" which Buddha encountered; for, according to Huen-Thsang, the statue, or image, of the "dead man" was placed opposite to one of the gates of Kapilavastu, which is exactly the position of the pretended tomb of Bholâ Shahid.

But now I have to prepare the way for some further, and perhaps rather startling, remarks on the name of Kapila,—which I think will at least excite some curiosity,—by at once making the bold statement that the legend of the Dun Cow has here "come upon me," in three different shapes!—(I am writing this on the spot.)

Who has not heard of the old European legends about "the Dun Cow, lowing from the hill sides, at morning and evening;" and about the supposed "bones of the Dun Cow," which were long preserved in many an ancestral mansion? These legends were preserved in the hilly parts of England,

[1] It is right, however, that I should mention that the name of "Bhuila" might just possibly be derived from the Hindi *bhû-hîlâ*, which would mean "muddy land," or "oozy land." But in the same manner as the Hindi adjectives *mâṭîlâ* and *miṭṭîlâ* are formed from the nouns *mâṭî* and *miṭṭî*, so also an adjective *bhûîla* might be formed from *bhû*.

in the Hartz mountains of Hanover, and among the Cantabrians of Spain.

Who has not heard the popular saying, "May the *Dun Cow* come upon you"?—Ay, and she is about to "come upon us" now.

Has any one ever thought of the actual literal meaning of the three names—*Kapila, Gotama, Gautamâ* or *Gautami*—and *Rohînî?* I say that the whole three of these names mean either a "brown cow," a "dusky cow," or a "dun cow"! In Sanskrit *Kapal* means "brown," or "dun-coloured;" and *Kapilâ* a common and well-known name for "brown cow" or "a *dun cow*."

Again, *gosh*, or *gô*, or *gau*, or *gâv*, means "a cow;" and *tâmâ* means "dark," or "dusky;"—and hence, *gotâma*, or *gau-tamâ* and *gotamî* or *gau-tâmi*, would literally mean a "dusky cow," or a "dark-coloured cow"!

Lastly, with regard to the name of the Rohini river. In Sanskrit *rohît* means "brown," or "dun-coloured;" and *Rohîtâ*, or the *Rohits*, is the name given, in the Rig Veda, to the two brown horses of *Agni*, or "the Sun."

"Yoke the Arushis to thy cart, O bright *Agni!*—the Harits, the *Rohîts!*—with them bring the gods to us!" —(*Rig Veda*, i. 14, 12.)

Again: "Hear thou, brilliant *Agni*, my prayer; whether the two *syâvâ* (black) horses" bring thy cart, or the two *rohitâ* (brown), or the two *arusha* (white) horses.—(*Rig Veda*, ii. 10, 2.)

And again: "Yoke the Harits and the *Rohits*, or the *Arushâs*, which are in thy stable."—(*Rig Veda*, vii. 42, 2. *See* Max Müller's Comparative Mythology; Oxford Essays, p. 83.)

I shall now be able to prove that *rohînî* is the feminine of *rohîtâ;* and that *rohini* means a "brown cow."

Rohini is derived from *rôhit*, "brown," in the same manner as *harinâ*, "bright brown," is derived from *harit*, "bright," (or "golden," from) *harat*.

It is worthy of remark that the feminine forms of the Vedic names of the "horses" of the dawn were applied to cows. Thus, *arushâ* meant "the two white horses;" but *ârushî* meant "a cow." Max Müller says, "*ârushî* is used for cow; for instance (*Rig Veda*, viii. 55, 3), where a poet says he has received four hundred cows, *ârushînâm kâtuh satâm*." These *ârushîs*, or "bright cows," belong more particularly to the dawn, and instead of saying the "day dawns," the old poets of the *Veda* say frequently, "the bright cows return" (*Rig Veda*,

i. 92, 1[1]). We found that the *Harits* were sometimes changed "into seven sisters," and thus the *Arushîs*, also originally "the bright cows," underwent the same metamorphosis;—

"The seven sisters, the *Arushîs* (the bright cows), knew of the sun" (*Rig Veda*, x. 5, 5); or, again, "When the sun flew up, the *Arushîs* refreshed their bodies in the water."

Sanskrit scholars hardly need to be told that this *ârushî* is, in reality, the feminine of *ârvâ*, or *ârvân* ("a horse."—(Comparative Mythology, Oxford Essays, p. 83).

And, in the same manner as *arvan*, or *arun*, elsewhere represents "the sun," so also *arushâ* comes to represent "the sun" himself!.

"Him the god *Agni*, they adorn and purify every day like a horse that has run his race, like *Arushâ*, the bright sun, the young child of Dyaus ('heaven')" (*Rig Veda*, vii, 15, 6; *ibid.*, p. 85).

Max Müller has elsewhere shown how *harinâ*, "bright brown," is derived from *harit*, "bright." In like manner *rohîna* may be derived from *rôhît*. Now, *harinî* is the feminine of *harinâ*, in the same manner as *ârushî* is the feminine of *arushâ*; and therefore *rohînî* is the feminine of *rohinâ*. But if *ârushî* means a "white" or "bright cow," then *rohînî* would mean a "brown cow"!

But *rohit* is also the Sanskrit name for a "roe deer," or for a kind of deer resembling a *roe*; and hence it is evident that, as the name of a colour, *rohit*, or *rohin*, means what we would call rufous, or a fawn colour, or a fawn-coloured brown, or tawny or tan colour.

Hence, as has been shown :—

1. *Rohînî* means a "brown cow" or "fawn-coloured cow."

2. *Kapilâ* means "a brown or dusky cow."

3. *Go-tâma*, or *gau-tamâ*, or *gau-tamî* means a "dusky" or "dark-coloured cow."

Hence, the *gautamas* would mean the "dark coloured" or "dusky cows!" *Kapilâ-vastû* would mean "the place of the dun cow!" And *rohînî* (as applied to a river) would mean—"the brown cow river" or simply "the brown river."[2]

[1] It is curious that a connection of ideas, between "cows" and the "dawn," is also preserved in the Hindi language; for, in Hindi, "*poh*" means "the dawn," and "*pôhâ*" means "kine," or "cattle."

[2] The Aryan root *rôh*, or *rô*, or *rav*, from which the Sanskrit *rohit* and *rohin* (brown) are derived, is also found in the English word *roan*, the French *rouan*, and the Spanish *roano;* and also in the Greek *ῥούσιος* "clear brown," and the Latin *russus*, the English *russet*, and also in the Saxon, *ruddu*, the English ruddy, and the Celtic *rodaidh* and *ruadh*, red, "rufous," tawny:" and also in the Celtic *riabhach* "drab," "brindled," "tabby." Hence also the name of the "roedeer" from its colour, the Sanskrit name of which is *rohit*.

Hence, when we read that *Kapila-vastu*, or *Kapilanagar*, was founded by some descendants of the Solar hero "*Gotâma*, on the bank of the river *Rohini*," it means simply that "the place of the dun cow," or "the city of the dun cow," was founded by some of the progeny of one of "the dusky cows of the dawn," near the "river of the brown cow"!

Assuredly, then, the dun cow has come upon us, at *Kapila-vastu!*

But, in Hindi, *lohi* means the "dawn;" and *lohi* is only a corruption of the Sanskrit *rohi!* Again, in Hindi, *poh* means the "dawn;" and *pohâ*, or *pohe*, means "cattle, or kine." Thus, *poh-ilâ* might mean either "the dawn of the sun," or "the cattle of the sun." Now, *poh-ilâ* bears a very close resemblance to *Bhû-îla*."

It is evident, therefore, that the whole story about Kapila-vastu, is a mere legendary fable, derived from the metaphorical myths of the Vedas, about the sun and the dawn.

The *Gautama* Rajputs might, therefore, well be called "the children of the *mist*."

Even the Rishi Kapila himself would appear to be as unreal and mythical as the horse-headed *Dadhyanch*, or *Dadhich Mûni*,[1] of the Sthâneswara traditions, whose name is also connected with the legends of the dawn, in the *Rig Veda*, where the "horse" is an emblem of the sun, and "the head of the horse" is an emblem of the "rising sun" or the dawn. It is therefore perhaps a curious coincidence that, while κέφαλος is a Greek mythological name for the "rising sun" or "the morning dawn," *capall* means a "horse" in the Gaelo-Celtic language.

Now, it is remarkable that it is said that the Gautamas had at first established themselves near the dwelling of the Sage Kapila; but as the lowing of their kine disturbed his meditations, they founded their new city at some distance![2] The mention of the "lowing of kine," or cows, in this story is significant; and in accordance with my former interpretations, in the sense of the Vedic myths I consider it simply to mean that "the progeny of the dusky cow," that is, "the clouds of the gray of the morning," or "the mists of the dawn," had settled down about the "dun cow," that is, around the pale yellowish-red light of the dawn; but

[1] The name of *Dadhyanch* would appear to mean the "Milky Way;" as it is apparently derived from *dadhi*, "curdled" milk, and *ancha*, "a breast," "a hem, or border."

[2] "Ancient Geography of India," p. 416.

that, as they dimmed or obstructed the straggling rays of light, they were compelled to disperse, or to disseminate, by the rising sun!

It is therefore perhaps rather a curious coincidence that, as I before remarked, *lohi*, in Hindi, means "the dawn," *lohi* being merely a corruption of the Sanskrit *rohi*; and that the Hindi word *poh* also means "the dawn," and that *pohâ* in Hindi means "kine, or cattle," and that *poh-ila* might mean either "the dawn of the sun," or "the cows of the sun;" and that this compound bears some slight resemblance to the name of *Bhuila*.

The story about Gotama and his descendants, and the sage Kapila, and the future Buddha, might also be interpreted metaphorically, in a moral sense; allowing the literal meanings of the mere words *Gautama* and *Kapila* to be taken for granted, for the sake of argument; and that the dim, dun-coloured dawn of the rising sun of intelligence was personified as a sage called *Kapila*, who was reputed to have taught certain moral and philosophical principles, which were, in substance, very nearly the same as the doctrines which were afterwards enunciated by Buddha, in his preaching of *dharma*, and the theory of *nirvâna*, or emancipation. One can discern the philosophy of Kapila lurking at the bottom of nearly every precept or tenet that was taught by Buddha.[1]

The descendants of Gotama might be likened to the eocene mists and vapours of the early gray of the morning, just beginning to be touched by the tints of the dawn; or like conscious ignorance groping after instruction.

The sage Kapila was, as the first dimly glimmering bronzed rays of the dawn of intelligence or understanding, ready to break forth and to illumine the horizon.

Buddha (*buddhi*, "intelligence") was "the rising sun of a clear and defined knowledge," "a knowledge of self," and "a knowledge of man's moral nature."

The whole story reads like an epic, descriptive, first, of ignorance groping after enlightenment, or understanding; secondly, the first inklings of thought and intelligence; and lastly, the full burst of self-knowledge, or conscience, to man.

[1] In ancient Hindu traditions, *Kapila* is the name of a diluvian hero who guided the "ark," and secured it to a rock or mountain. Hamilton Smith notices this in his "Natural History of Man," p. 171, where he says:—

"There is Naubandana, perhaps Dhawalagiri, where the patriarch god himself, in the form of Kapila, conducted the ark, and secured it to the rock, according to Hind lore."

The question began to be asked, "What is being? What is existence?" The answer was, "Seek understanding;" and the result was the moral, "Man, know thyself."

The knowledge of self, a knowledge of his own moral nature, was like a piercing bust of the clear light of the sun to man's understanding. And hence, that which was first known as *Kapila*, or "the glimmering dull brown cows" of the *Vedic* dawn of understanding, came to be afterwards termed "*Bhu-ilâ*," or the land of the "sun-light" of knowledge.

From the tradition which I before quoted concerning the origin or founding of the city of Kapilavastu, which I have shown is probably a mere mythological fable, it would seem that the Sakyas were supposed to be descended from a patriarch of the Solar race called Gotama; and that, therefore, the Sakyas might be identified with the Gautama tribe of Kshatriyas; or that the present *Gautama* Rajputs of the Basti District might be the descendants of the Sakyas. This idea has received support from the two following facts, namely, firstly, that a person named *Gautama*, the founder of a religious sect, is stated by the Jain Chronicles to have been a pupil or disciple of Mâhâvira, the last of the Jain patriarchs, or *Tirthan karas;* and secondly, that Buddha is called *Gautama*, *Gaudama*, or *Godama*, by the Burmese and others. In like manner, this idea as to the Gautama origin of the Sakyas might also receive some support from the circumstance, mentioned in the Tibetan Buddhist Chronicles, that the infant Buddha, or Sakya, was taken by his aunt, called "Gotami or Gautami," to pay adoration to the god L'ha.

But, as I have already previously explained, the word *Gotam*, or *Goutam*, is evidently a term of mythological origin and signification. The first syllable, *go* or *gau*, taken in a masculine or general sense, might mean any animal of the cow kind,—that is, a bull or ox; as *tâm*, or *tamâ*, means either "dusky," or "brown," or "copper-coloured," *gotama* would mean either a "brown bull," or, metaphorically, a "brazen bull," which would be an epithet either of the "rising sun," or of the "setting sun," as the "bull" is frequently used to signify "the sun" in the poetical language of the *Rig Veda*. In like manner, *gautami* would mean "a dusky cow," or "brown cow," which might bear reference to one of the Vedic "cows" of the early dawn. Gotama Mûni was one of the seven Rishis, who were said to have been born directly from Brahma. But as a solar hero, Getama evidently represented the sun

himself; for the name of his wife was Ahalyâ, which is the same as the old Sanskrit *Aharyâ*, and which is one of the mythological names either for "the day," or "the night," or for the "dawn," or "the twilight;" and the story about Ahalyâ being deceived by Indra, who assumed the form of her husband Gotama, is simply a repetition of one of the well-known myths about the dawn and the sun.[1] *Ahâr* means "day," and Ahalyâ was said to be the daughter of Brahmâ. Indeed, a *Gotama*, as a solar patriarch, is probably only another name for the mortal Solar hero Aharyu, which is the masculine of Aharyâ or Ahalya,[2] and is probably the original of Αχιλλεύς.

I have also already identified the god L'ha, of the Tibetan traditions, with the Sanskrit *Ilas*, or *Ailas*, meaning "the sun," as the masculine of *Ilâ*, which is the well-known name of "the daughter of the sun." The Sanskrit *Ailas* is probably represented by the Greek *Ilos*, the son of Tros, and it may be connected with the Greek words ἰλή, or *ilâ*, "a ball," and ἴλλω "to revolve," "to roll," "to turn." Now, it is worthy of remark that Buddh, the Indian Mercury, is said to have married *Ila*, the daughter of the sun; and their son was called *Ailas*, who was the same as *Purûravas*, or *Vasistha*, which are names of the sun in the Rig Veda. *Purûr* avas says, "I, the brightest sun, I hold *Urvasi* (the dawn), her who fills the air, who spreads the sky." Vasishtha is called "the son of Mitra and Varuna," that is, the son of night and day. And in the same manner as the Sanskrit *Ailas* was the son of Buddha and Ilâ, and as Vasishtha was the son of Mitra and Varuna, so also the Greek Κέφαλος was at one time the son of Hermes and Hersê, and at another time the son of Endymion and the husband of Prokris (that is, πρώξ, "the Dew"). In the *Rig Veda*, Pûrurvas is called "Aida, the son of Ida," and as Agni is also called "Aida, the son of Ida," it is plain that the names of "*Aida*" and "*Purûravas*" really mean *Agni*, or "the sun." The Sanskrit *Arusha*, when signifying "the sun," in the *Rig Veda*, is also called "the son of Dyaus and Ida." Now, in this case, *Dyaus* means "Heaven," and *Ida* means "Earth;" and we have already seen that Vasishtha was the son of Mitra and Varuna or "Heaven and Earth;" and therefore Vasishtha cor-

[1] "*Râshtrakutas*," or *Râhtor* Rajputs of India, are said to have been the progeny of this *liaison* between Indra and Ahalya, the wife of Gotama Mûni.
[2] See Max Müller's "Lectures on the Science of Language," second series, p. 502, foot-note.

responds to Arusha. So also, the Greek *Eros*, which has been identified with the Sanskrit *Arusha*, was the son of Zeus, or Arês and Aphrodite, and the Latin Cupid was at one time the son of Jupiter and Venus, or of Mars and Venus Aurora, and at another time the son of Erebus and Nox. The Greek word *Ida* is really the feminine of *idos*, which means "heat;" and although, as a proper name, *Ida* is commonly applied as the name of a mountain covered with forest, it must evidently anciently have been a name of Venus, or Kupris, or Aphrodite, in the same manner as *Idaios* was the name of a mythical Trojan herald, but really meant "the Herald of the Dawn;" and Idaios was also a name of Zeus and Apollo. *Aïs*, *Aïdos*, *Aides*, and *Aïdoneus*, also, were names of Pluto. There was a city called *Idalium*, which was sacred to Venus, or Kupris, in the island of Cyprus, where Venus was born; and it was also on Mount Ida, in Phrygia, that Paris gave the apple to Venus.[1] It is therefore very probable that the Sanskrit name *Idâ* may originally have meant "mother" (as well as "earth," γὴ, or *terra*), and might have been applied either to the dawn, or to the goddess of love; and in that case *Idâ* would correspond to *Ilâ*, "the daughter of the sun," or the *dawn*, in the same manner as *Aida* corresponds to *Ailas*. For we have already seen that *Ailas*, or *Purûravas*, was the son of *Ilâ*; and that *Aida*, or *Purûravas*, was the son of *Idâ*. Consequently it has been clearly proved that *Ilâ* is the *Dawn*, and that *Ailas* is the *Sun*. *Ilâ-awart*, or *Ilâ-vrit*, would therefore mean an eastern division of the country; and I believe it to be identifiable with the country about Bhû-ila, or the land of the Dawn,—that is, with the kingdom of Kapilavastu.

While speaking of the name Aila, I may mention, as a curious coincidence, that about 2 miles to the south-east from Bhuila Tâl there is a small lake called Aila Tâl. During the rainy season, the surplus waters of the Bhuila Tâl find an exit, eastwards, by the Dochuâṇ Nâla, and a southerly turn of the Dochuân Nâla finds its way into the Aila Tâl; and thus, when there is a great flood of water, a portion of the surplus water of the Bhuila Tâl actually finds its way into the Aila Tâl. Here, then, we find a lake called

[1] The Greek names of *Kupris* (Venus) and of *Kubéle* (*Cybélé*), and the Latin verb *cupio*, "to desire," and the name of *Cupid*, are evidently connected with the Greek verb καπράω "to rut," "to lust after," "to become lascivious;" and also with the Sanskrit *kapal*, "brown," and the Old High German (or High Catholic) *chuphar*, "copper, brass." But *kupra* was the Etruscan name of Juno.

Bhu-ila closely connected with another lake called Aila. I have therefore a strong suspicion that the original ancient name of the Bhuila Lake was simply "Ilâ Tâl," or "the lake of *Ilâ;*" while the land around it was called Bhu Ila, or "the land of *Ilâ.*"

I therefore feel satisfied that the god L'ha, of the Tibetan traditions, is the Sanskrit *Ila,* the Dawn (or daughter) of the Sun;" and that the Tibetan name of "*L'hasbstan,* as applied to Kapilavastu, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Ailasya-sthâna,* which would mean "the place, or abode, of the sun;" which would correspond to *Bhû-ilâ,* "*Dawn*-land, land of the dawning sun;" and to *Ilâ-warta,* "a quarter, or division, of the country, towards the rising sun."

If, therefore, we say that Gautami took the infant Buddha, the descendant of Gotama, to pay adoration to the god L'ha, it simply means "that one of the dusky 'cows,' or first glimmering herald clouds of the early dawn, carried intelligence (*buddhi*), the issue of the 'brown bull' (or brazen bull), that is, of the rising sun, that it might adore or acknowledge the sun in his full glory."

But, would it be believed, the *Rohits* and the *Harits* (the horses of the sun), as well as *Aida*, *Ida*, and *Ilâ* or *Ilï*, are actually included in the genealogies of the Bhâgavat Puran, among the ancestors of the Solar race of kings; and are thus made to be the ancestors of Ṣakya Mûni (see the names of *Rohita*, *Harita*, *Aida-bida*, and *Ili-vita*, in Prinsep's Useful Tables, Ind. Ant., Vol. II, p. 233).

Now, the Ṣâkyas of Kapilavastu claimed to be of the Solar race, and Buddha was called Arkabandhu or "kinsman of the sun;" and therefore, in saying that they were the "descendants of the Solar hero Gotama," it was simply meant to say that they were descended from the sun! For *go-tama,* the "brown bull," or "brazen bull," meant the sun!

But however that may be, the present *Gautama* Râjpûts of the district of Basti are, in my opinion, or as far as I can learn, apparently most decidedly not the descendants of the ancient Ṣâkyas of Kapilavastu at all!

If the Gautama Râjpûts were really the descendants of the Ṣâkyas, then surely they would have preserved some remembrance of the name of Sâkya, and of the name of Kapilavastu, the ancient capital city of the Sâkyas. But, alas! on the contrary, the Gautama Râjpûts of this district appear to be totally ignorant on the subject; and they do not seem even ever to have heard either the name of Sâkya or of Kapilavastu.

Some Gautam Râjpût villagers, who were questioned on the subject, said that they had never heard of any such people as the *Ṣâkyas*, or of *Sâkya Mûni*, or *Buddha;* and that they never heard of any such place as *Kapilavastu*, or *Kapilanagar*. And when they were asked if Gautams had founded either the old *khêra* near Nagar *Khâs*, or the ancient city of which the ruined mounds remained at Bhuila, they said no, that they had not; and that these ancient sites had been founded, or had existed, before the time of the Gautam Râj. They said that they did not know who had founded the ancient *khêra* at Nagar Khâs, but that it was founded by some other people, and not by the Gautams. Indeed, they said that they had heard that the old *khêra*, or *dih*, was in existence before they came; and they stated, moreover, that they (the Gautams) had come from somewhere in the south, at a not very ancient period, or during the middle ages, and in the time of the Pathâns! With regard to *Bhuila Dih*, they said that they knew of it as an ancient place, which they heard had been founded by the Thârûs.

It is thus evident that the Gautams do not lay claim to any antiquity of occupation in this part of the country; and that they do not profess to have founded any of the ancient places in it! The Gautams may be ignorant, but it is impossible to force that upon them of which they do not know anything, which they will not own to, or which they deny!

There are three principal Râjpût clans in this part of the country, namely, the "*Kâlahânsas*," the "*Gautams*," and the "*Bisèn*;" and there are also a few *Sûryavansas*. But there are also several other Râjpût clans or families scattered through various parts of the *Basti* and *Gorakhpur* districts, namely, the "*Raikwar*," the "*Barwar*," the "*Maharawar*," the "*Kausik*," the *Sirnet*, the "*Rahtor*," the "*Bâla Sultan*," the "*Bais*," and some *Somvansis*. All these people are very ignorant, and do not know anything at all about the ancient history of the country. The "*Kâlahans*" are now in possession of *Bhuila;* but they know that they were intruders here. They know that they came from the west; and they say that they are "*Angirases*," or were descended from "*Angiraûs Muni*." The *Kâlahans* are said to have originally come from a place called "*Gâhemunja Bagulâne*," somewhere in North-Western India; but one story makes them to have come from *Rewa*, and to have cut off the head of the then *Raja* of Basti, who was of a different race.[1] The *Kâlahans* also say that

[1] The ancient Rajas of Basti or Marawa were of the Maharawar tribe.

they were preceded by the *Bhars* here; and that the *Bhars* were preceded by the *Thârus.* The *Bisèn Râjpûts*, on the other hand, are rather a superior and portly-looking race of men; but they also are intruders. The *Bisèn* are now found at "Kot," and at Gonda, &c.; but they say that they originally came from "*Majhauli*," about 30 miles to the south-east of *Gorakhpur*. The "Surya-vansis" are found in *Amorha* Pargana, and they are divided into three different *Septs*, or families, namely, the "*Kumar*" or "*Kuwar*," or genuine Suryavansis, the "Naga," and the "*Sauhaga*." The "Raikwar" are at Basti and Gorakhpur, the "Barwar" at Sisswa and Karar; the *Maharawar* to the east; the "Kausik" at Barheapar and Gopalpur, to the south of Gorakhpur; the "Sirnet" (and some *Gautamiyans*) at Bansi; the "*Rahtor*" at "*Bagh-dih*," north-east of Basti; the "*Somvanis*" near Basti; the *Bais* at Amorha; and the *Bâla Sultan* near Ganeshpur. What, then, has become of the descendants of the genuine old Sâkyas of *Kapilavastu*? Are they extinct, or did they retire to the north, among the mountains and forests, when Buddhism was being persecuted and extinguished in India?

With regard to the name of the Sâkyas, I must confess that I have long suspected that the word "Sâkya" may not have been a common Sanskrit term, or may perhaps originally not have been a word of Sanskrit origin at all! Even the term "Saka," as applied to an era, was originally a word introduced to indicate a particular era which was instituted by the great king *Salivahan*, who was also called *Sakaditya*, which means "Lord of the Sakas," as well as Sakâri, "Enemy of the Sakas." But some think that it took its commencement from the date of a victory which was gained by Salivâhan over a people called Sakas, who are supposed to have been Scythians; it would therefore appear to be a foreign word, derived from a foreign people.

This word "Saka" (pronounced "Shaka") I hold to be quite distinct from another term, Saka, which I suppose to be a genuine Sanskrit word, corresponding to the Latin "seculum," signifying simply an era of any kind, or any era in general. I would therefore wish to draw a strong and marked distinction between these two words, "Shaka" and "Saka."

Now, the term "Sakya" (pronounced "Shakya"), as the proper name of a people or tribe, appears to me to have the form of an adjective noun, or a secondary noun, derived from "Saka" (pronounced "Shaka"), the name of a nation; like "Khasa"

and Khasiya; in the same manner as "Gautamiya" is derived from "Gautama," or "dhanya" from "dhan," or priya" from "pri." I therefore believe "Sakya" to be simply a diminutive form of "Saka," and to mean Saka-like, or of the Saka sort, or lesser or secondary Sakas, or a colony originally derived from the Saka nation, which had become Hinduised and naturalised in India; or, in other words, an Indo-Sakian tribe. I consider Sakya, as derived from Saka, to correspond to such European terms as "Romaic," or "Romance," or "Romanic," as derived from "Roma" or Roman; or "Sclavonic" from Sclave; or "Arianian" from Aria or Arian; or "Scythic" and "Scythian," as compared to the ground from Scyth; or "Britannic," as compared to British, Briton, or Britain; or "Puritanic," or "Puritanical," as compared to Puritan.

I have supposed Saka to be not a word of Sanskrit origin; but if Saka be derived from "Sak," to be able, the root of the Sanskrit term "Sakti," meaning power, then the name "Saka" must be of Sanskrit origin, and would mean a powerful people.

But if the Sakyas were an early off shoot from some Saka nation, then the question is, were they derived from the Sakas of *Kumaon*, or *Kurmmâvan*, whose king *Sâkâdityu*, or Sakwanti, captured Dilli in B. C. 60; or were they a colony left by some pre-historic *Indo-Scythic* or *Parthian* invaders or colonisers of India? My own belief is that the "Sakyas" were a mixed branch of the ancient Sakas of *Kumaon*, or *Kurmmâvan*, or *Kurmmachal*, who had long been settled on the plains in *Kosala*, or in the kingdoms of *Srâvasti* and *Kapilâvastu*, and also in *North Pancha*. It is very certain that the Sakas, whose great king was Sakaditya or Sakwanti of Kumaon, were not confined to the hills merely, but that they also possessed a large portion of the plains to the north of Oudh and elsewhere; and that these Sakas had already been in possession of a large tract of the plain country, long before they captured Dilli. Nay, the very fact of the capture of Dilli by the Sakas is in itself a proof that they were already previously in possession of power and territory on the plains, and had gained a firm foothold in the country, either in the neighbourhood, or probably not far off; and it is likely that the Sakas who took Dilli simply came from that part of the country which is now called *Rohilkhand*, or anciently North *Panchala*, and which was also called "Kattair," or "Kassair."

There were also a people called "Sakalas," who may either have been Sakas, or they may have been the people of Sangala.

Now, "*Prasenajit*" is said to have been the king of *Sravasti*, in Northern *Kosala*, in the time of *Buddha*, or *Sakya Muni*; but in the *Pauranic* genealogical lists (as, for instance, in the *Vishnu Purana*) the name of "*Prasenajit*" is placed in the very same genealogical line and in the same category with "*Sâkya*" himself, and with his father *Suddhodana* and his son *Râhula*; in fact, the name of *Prasenajit* is placed immediately after that of *Râhula*, the son of *Sâkya* (*Buddha*). It is therefore very evident that Raja *Prasenajit* was of the same family as *Sâkya Muni*, or *Buddha*; and that, therefore, *Prasenajit* himself must have been a *Sâkya*. Indeed, it is probable that since, as I have shown, the kings of *Srâvasti* must have been *Sâkyas*, that they were, in fact, by right of descent, the chief or paramount Râjas of the whole *Sâkya* race; and that, as the acknowledged head of the whole *Sâkya* tribe, the Râja of *Srâvasti* possessed a certain amount of authority over the Râja of *Kapilavastu*; and that therefore the Kapilavastu *Sâkyas* must have stood in much the same position or relation to the *Srâvasti Sâkyas* that the *Hâra* Chohans of Kota now stand with regard to the *Hâra* Chohans of *Bundi* (*Bundi* being the older branch, and originally the head of both States. If you ask one of these *Râjpûts* who he is, he will say a "*Hâḍa*" or a "Kichi;" but he is nevertheless a *Chohân*. So also the Gautamiyas are a mixed or inferior branch of the *Gautams*). Now, it is worthy of remark that *Prasenajit* was called "king of Kosala," which included *Kapilavastu*! It is therefore all nonsense to talk of "*Virudhaka*," the son of *Prasenajit*, as being "an enemy of the *Sâkya* race;" for, in that case, he would have been an enemy of his own race, and a hater of his own family! The real fact of the matter is that *Virudhaka* was not an enemy of the *Sâkyas* generally at all, but that he was simply an enemy of *Buddhism*, and that he only persecuted those *Sâkyas* who had become *Buddhists*; and he thus came to be at enmity with his relatives at *Kapilavastu*. Mrs. Speir appears to have had some good reason for being of the same opinion that *Prasenajit* belonged to the same family, or race, as "*Sâkya Sinha*" and Suddhodana; for, in her *Life in Ancient India* (p. 280), she says, "*Prasenajit*, the king of *Kosala*, was a friend, and probably a connexion, of Sâkya Muni's father."

It is plain, therefore, that the two kingdoms of *Srâvasti* and *Kapila* were both inhabited by the *Sâkyá* race. Now, these two kingdoms taken together must have extended from the *Karnâli*, or *Kauriâla*, river on the north-west, and from *Bahraich*, on the upper part of the *Sarju river*, on the west-north-west, to beyond Gorakhpur, or to Kusia, or Kusinagara, on the east; the Himâlayas bounding the two kingdoms on the north, and the lower part of the Ghaghra river forming a boundary on the south. Thus the *Sâkyas* of the two kingdoms together inhabited a tract of country about 150 miles in length from east to west, by about 70 miles in breadth from north to south; in other words, the country of the *Sâkyas* must have extended from *North Panchâla*, or *Rohilkhand*, on the west, to *Mithila* and *Tirhût* on the east. The north-western boundaries of the dominions of the *Sâkyas* therefore actually met and touched, or impinged upon, the south-eastern boundary of the realm of the *Sâkas* of *Kumaon* or *Kurmmâvan*. The two people were therefore close neighbours. But General Cunningham includes the two northern hill districts of *Malbhûm* and *Khâchi* in the kingdom of *Srâvasti*; and in that case the *Sâkyas* of *Srâvasti* must actually have possessed a part of Kumaon, or "*Kurmmâvan*," itself. By the term "*Kumaon*," I mean, of course, not merely the present political division known by that name, but the ancient region of "*Kurmmâvan*," or "*Kurmmâchal*," which extended along the Himâlayas from *Nepal* proper to *Kashmir*.

Now, "*Sâkadwipâ*" is a name given to one of the divisions of India in the *Purânas*. Might not this refer to the country, of the Indian *Sâkyas*, as well as to the *Sâkas* of Kumaon, or *Kurmmâvan?* In the *Purânas* "*Sâkadwipa*" is made to be a part of "*Kushadwipa*," which might mean a country inhabited by the "*Khasas*," who are an ancient people of *Kumaon*, or "*Kurmmâvan*," as well as the *Sâkas*.

The principal original people of the region of "*Kurmmâvan*," or "*Kurmmâchal*," were and are called "*Khasas*," or "*Khasiyas*,"—which, by the way, reminds us of the "*Sâkas*" and *Sâkyas*; for if "*Khasa*" and "*Khasiya*" be the same, why should not "*Sâka*" and "*Sakya*" be only two forms of one and the same name? The name of these "*Khasas*," or "*Khasiyas*," is preserved in that of the district of "*Khâchi*" (before referred to as having formed part of the kingdom of *Sravasti*), and also in the name of *Kashmir*, which was anciently called "*Khâchi*," and the whole region of *Kurmmâvan*, or *Kurmmâchal*, was also called "*Gachè*,"

or "*Gachchhè*." The name of the kingdom of "*Gache*," or "*Gachchhe-râj*," is mentioned in an inscription at Kangra; and the Indio-Scythic king Kanishka was called "king of *Gache*."[1] But in the *Tibetan* chronicles, as quoted by Csoma de Koros, Kanishka is said to have reigned at Kapila (that is, at "*Kapilavastu*"[2]). It has also been seen that *Sâkâditya*, the king of the Sakas, was called king of *Kumaon*, that is, of "*Kurmmâvan*," or "*Kurmmâchâl*." But "*Gachchè*," or "*Gâchè*," is allowed to be the same as "*Khâche*," or "*Khâchi*;" and this name is clearly connected with that of the people called "*Khasas*," or "*Khasiyas*," whose original name may therefore perhaps have been "*Khach*," or "*Khâchiya*." But the most ancient kingdom of Kashmir is said to have been first founded by "*Kasyapa* Muni," of the *Solar* race. Now "*Kasyapa*" literally means "protector," or "cherisher," of "*Kasya*," or of the "Kasyas."

It is therefore evident, from all that has been said above, that the "*Sâkas*" of Kumaon and the "*Khasas*" of Kumaon must, in reality, originally have been one and the same people! But if the "*Khasas*" represent the Sakas, then it follows that the *Khasiyas* must represent the "Sâkyas;" and I have aleady shown that "*Khasa*" and "*Khasya*" are simply variant forms of the same name, indifferently applied to one and the same people, from which it would appear to follow that the name of the Sâkyas may also have been simply a variant or diminutive form of the name of the "Sâkas"!

Again, an ancient name of a division of *Northern* India given in the Purânas is "*Kaserumat*," or "*Kaseru*," which evidently refers to some race of people called "Kasa." I believe the "Kasas" to be the traditional descendants of "*Kasyapa Muni*," of the Solar race, the mythical founder of the kingdom of Kashmir.

"*Tamraparna*" is the Pauranic name of another ancient division of India, which might possibly refer to the copper-yielding regions of Kumaon and Garhwâl. Now, there is a district of *Garhwâl* which is called variously "*Roh*," or "*Rohwín*," or "*Rohwâhín*," which brings to mind what I have said about the "*Rohini*" river, and the Sanskrit terms "rohit" and "rohin," as meaning a reddish-brown colour.

[1] "Coins of Indian Buddhist satraps," Cunningham, Journ. As. Soc., Beng., 1854, p. 687.

[2] See Prinsep's "Indian Antiquities," Vol. I, p. 38.

The people of Silhet are also called "*Khasiyas*." *Khaspur* is the capital of *Kachâr*, and there is a river in *Kachâr* called the "*Kapili*," which means the "brown river," and which brings to mind what I have previously said about *Kapilâ*.

Now, the *Khasas* or *Khasiyas* of the *Himâlayas* are the close neighbours of two other hill tribes called the "*Magars*" and the "*Thârus*," the *Magars* being a hill tribe, and the *Thârus* being partly a hill tribe and partly occupying a portion of the *Tarai*; and it is now pretty generally believed that the *Gorkhas* of Nepâl were in reality originally either *Magars*, or *Khasas*, or *Khasiyas*; indeed, this may be said to be now a well-ascertained fact. But the *Gorkhas* themselves nevertheless pretend to be descended from the *Sisodia*, *Guhila*, or *Gahilot* family of Mewar! If there is any truth at all in this pretended claim, it can only mean that the *Gorkhas* were originally descended from a branch of the same stock as that from which the *Sisodias* or *Gahilots* were originally descended. Now, the *Sisodias* or *Gahilots* of Mewar claim to be descended from "*Kanaksena*," of the *Solar* race, who is said to have emigrated from the north between A. D. 144 and 190, and to have settled in Saurâshtra. But as *Sumitra*, the ancestor of *Kanaksena*, is by some said to have been contemporary with *Vikramâditya*, there must be some mistake in the date of *Kanaksena*, unless the "*Vikramâditya*" referred to was really the Indo-Scythic king *Kanishka*, B. C. 57, in which case *Kanaksena* may be identifiable with the "*Bhatarka Senapat*" of the Gujarat copperplates. According to Tod, *Kanaksena* was the successor of "*Achilsena*," who was the successor of "*Antarita*," who was the successor of "*Maharitu*," whose name (according to the *Jain* chronicles) follows *immediately* after that of "*Sumitra*," whose name is given in the *Bhâgavat Purana*, and from whom the genealogical chronicles of the *Sisodias* or *Gahilots* of Mewar trace their descent. "*Sumitra*" was the successor of "*Suratha*," or "*Surita*," who was the successor of "*Kundaka*," who was the successor of "*Kshudraka*" Romaka, who was the successor of "*Prâsenajit*" (king of *Srâvasti*), whose name in the *Pauranic* lists is made to follow immediately after that of *Rahula*, who was the son of "*Sakya*" (that is, *Sakya Muni*, or *Buddha*), who was the son of *Suddhodana*, who was the son of "Sanjaya," or "*Sinhahâna Kabâna*," who was the successor of "Rananjaya," who was the successor of "Kritanjaya," who is said to have

emigrated from Kosala, and to have founded the nation of the "Suryas," or "Sauryas," or "Suras," in "Saurashtra."

Now, "Potâlâ," or the "harbour," is the name given in Buddhist writings to a city in the delta of the Indus, in which the Sâkyas are said to have lived before their migration to Kapilavastu.[1] This place must therefore have been in Saurashtra. (It is remarkable that there is nothing at all said in this about the Sakyâs as being Goutamas!)

Now, General Cunningham has himself remarked to me (in the course of correspondence) that a people called "Sauras" appear at one time to have been spread over the whole of Northern India, and he stated that he had a strong suspicion that Saurashtra was named after them. These "*Sauras*" were therefore very probably the descendants of the patriarch "*Kritanjaya*" of the Solar race, the great common ancestor of the *Sâkyas* and the Gahilots, who is said to have founded the nation of the Sauryas in *Saurashtra.* "*Savera*" would mean an Eastern people.

From all the foregoing facts which I have brought forward, it is clearly manifest that the *Sisodias*, or *Guhilas*, or *Gahilots,* are descended from the same stock, nay, from the very same family as the Sâkyas of *Kapilavastu*, and *Prasenajit*, king of *Srâvasti!* Indeed, we might almost be justified in calling the *Sisodias*, or *Gahilots*, Sakyas." It is therefore a curious and significant circumstance that the Gorkhas of Nepâl claim to be descended from the same stock as the *Sisodias* or *Gahilots* of Mewar! And yet, as I have already stated, the Gorkhas are now ascertained pretty certainly to have been originally really either Magars or Khasas (or Khasiyas), whom I have previously identified with the ancient Sâkas of Kumaon or Gachè. And these very Gorkhas have proved themselves to be stubborn warriors, and capable of making extensive conquests, like the ancient Sâkas of Kumaon or "Kurmmâvan."

All these facts appear to me to afford very strong and convincing reasons for believing that the Sâkas and *Khasas* and the "*Sâkyas*" and *Khasiyas* were all originally derived from the same stock.

Add to this the fact that another people, who (where they are a hill tribe) are the close neighbours of the Khasàs and Magars, namely, the "Thârus," claim to have been the

"[1] Life in Ancient India," Mrs. Speir, p. 212. Wilson's "Ariana," p. 211. Journ. As. Soc., Beng., August 1833. Origin of the Sakya Race, Csoma de Koros.

founders of Bhuila, which I have identified as the site of Kapilavastu. These Thârus are also popularly said to have been the founders of several other ancient sites both in the districts of Basti and Gonda. The Thârus themselves say that Bhuila was their ancient capital. In fact, the Thârus are the ancient people to whom the founding of nearly all the ancient sites in this part of the country is popularly attributed by the native peasantry. As I have said, the hill Thârus are the close neighbours of the Khasas or Khasiyas, and of the Magars, and I have reason to believe that the Thârus are of the same race, or derived from the same stock, as the Khasas and Magars. But if the Thârus were the founders of Bhuila, and if Bhuila is the actual site of *Kapilavastu*, then it follows that the *Thârus* must be *descendants* of the Sâkyas.

Surely there must be some hitherto hidden but important truth lurking at the bottom of all these startling facts. And one cannot possibly avoid the conclusions that are forced upon him by such facts as these.

The *Thârus* would appear to be a tribe with whom some interesting but vague floating traditions are connected, and whose real origin and history have not as yet ever been clearly ascertained with any certainty; for though the Tharus are now generally looked upon as a sort of hill tribe, yet it is very certain, both from their own traditions and also from certain traditions still current about them among the natives of this part of the country, that the *Thârus* were once the possessors of some considerable portion of the plains, both in the Basti district and in the district of Gonda, which originally formed portions of the region anciently called "Kosala." And yet, as far as I know, no information about any people bearing the name of *Thâru* would appear to be obtainable from any of the *Buddhist* chronicles! If, then, the *Thârus* were really an ancient people within the limit's of the kingdom of which *Kapilavastu* was the capital, either history must be unaccountably silent about them, or else the people who are now known under the name of "*Thârus*" must anciently have been known under some other totally different name. Perhaps, as I suspect, and as I have already suggested, the *Thârus* may have been a branch of the same race as the *Khasas* or *Khasyas*, and the Magas, "Mags," or Magars, who are now also a hill tribe on the western confines of *Nepâl*. It is at least worthy of remark that, according to one popular tradition, a people called "*Magas*" are said

given their name to *Magadha*, the ancient name of *South Bihar.* It is therefore especially a curious coincidence, to say the least of it, that two tribes, called respectively "*Magars*" and "*Thârus*," are now actually found as neighbours in the same region on the confines of Nepâl.

The people of Magadha were, however, also called "*Parâsiyas*" or "*Prasü*," and although it may be a matter of comparatively little importance to the present question whether that name be interpreted as a corruption of the Sanskrit "Prâchya," as referring to an "eastern" position, or be derived from "Parâsa," the Sanskrit name of the *Dhâk* tree, yet I may here bring this one more circumstance to notice, namely, that there is the site of an ancient town a short distance to the east of *Bhuila* which is called "*Prâs Dih*," the foundation of which is by some attributed to the *Thârus* and by others to an unknown people who are conjectured to have given their name to the place.

But it is perhaps even a more curious coincidence that the "*Magas*" or "*Mags*" also find a place in this district as well as the *Thârus;* for, in the northern part of Pergunnah *Amorha* (*Zillah Basti*), a short distance to the south of "*Khém-râj-pûr*," and about 13 miles to the west from *Bhuila*, there are two villages called "*Mughganwan*," which I believe to be only a mis-spelling of "Mag-gañw" or "*Mag-gaonon*," meaning "the two villages of the *Mags*." Now, as I have identified the ancient site, or Khera mound, near "Khém-râj-pûr" with the ancient city of "Kshemavati," which was the capital of some small kingdom or district called "*Mekhala*" (as related in the Buddhist books of Ceylon), I believe that, in the names of these two villages called "*Mughganwan*" or "*Maggaonon*," the memory of the ancient traditional name of "*Mekhala*" is actually preserved; and that "*Mekhala*" may therefore be simply a *Ceylouese* corruption of the Sanskrit "*Mag-alaya*," meaning "the habitation or abode of the *Mags;*" and that therefore the "*Mags*" must have been the ancient inhabitants of *Mekhala.* If, therefore, the *Thârus* could be in any way identified as having originally been a branch of the "*Mags*" or "*Magars*" considered as the ancient people of *Mekhala*, or *Mag-alaya*, or *Magara*, it would then be very easy to understand how very likely they might have been the actual founders of many ancient places in the districts of Basti and Gonda. And as the "*Magars*" or "*Mags*" are also at the present time known as a hill tribe who are said to inhabit the western confines of Nepâl, it is possible that they

might be in some way remotely connected by descent with the ancient "*Sâkas*" of *Kumaon*, and that they might thus, in conjunction with the *Thârus*, just possibly somehow have given rise to the name of the "*Sâkyas*" of *Kapilavastu*, as Râja Kshema's kingdom of "*Mekhala*" or *Mag-alaya* lay close on the west of the kingdom of *Kapilavastu*.[1]

At all events, in this case, if any of the above conjectures should eventually be found to hold water, or to turn out either to have any foundation on ascertained facts, or to receive support from any facts that may hereafter be brought to light, then the traditions about the *Thârus*, referred to even by the Râjpût villagers about *Nagar Khâs*, and many times recounted to me by the Râjpûts in the neighbourhood of *Bhuila*, may after all turn out to have much truth in them.

At present, however, I would wish it to be clearly understood that I venture to offer these remarks with diffidence as mere suggestions; whatever may be thought of them otherwise, may perhaps at least tend to excite some enquiry and eventually serve to elicit some truths, or some new facts, which may hitherto possibly have remained in the background merely for want of systematic investigation on the spot.

Since writing the preceding remarks, I have, through the obliging courtesy of the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, been favoured with a copy of an interesting report on the *Thârus* and *Bhuksas* of the Tarai by Mr. E. Colvin, and I may state that there are certain particulars noted in this report which tend, if anything, to confirm my views regarding the *Thârus*.

Mr. Colvin's report contains so much information on the subject under consideration, that I cannot well curtail it, or make a mere abstract of it here, and I will therefore now give the substance of the report in full, merely taking the liberty of supplying a few words accidentally omitted, and correcting a few clerical errors of the copyist. Mr. Colvin says:—

"There are only two castes in the Tarai which call for remark; the others have moved in from neighbouring districts at various periods; * * * * * * * as for instance Pillibhit.

[1] In connection with the Sâka race, I would wish to call attention to the fact that there is a Turanian, or Turkish tribe on the banks of the river Lena in North-Eastern Asia who are called Yakuts, but who call themselves "Sakha." The original seats of these Yakuts, or Sakhas, would appear to have been on the north-west of Lake Baikal. Their language is closely allied to the Turkish. (See Max Müller's "Lectures on the Science of Language," First Series, p. 317.)

"The two castes or tribes called *Bhooksas* and *Tharoos* are unable to afford any information regarding the period or the reason of their settling in the Tarai, beyond that the former state that they came from Dhâranagara, and the latter from Chittaur.

"Sir H. Elliott, under the head Bhooksas, states that the Bhooksas claim to be Powar Râjpoots, and asserts that their [ancestor][1] Udaya Jeet was driven from house and home in a quarrel he had with his brother Jagat Deo, the Râja of Dhâranagar, and came to dwell with a few dependents in Bunbusa, a village in the Oudh territory. He then proceeds to state that they successfully aided the Râja of Kumaun, and settled chiefly along the line of springs which rise at the foot of the Bhâbur. In a note in page 71 he expresses his opinion that there may possibly have been some connection between the Powars and Bhooksas.

"Bhooksas still claim to be addressed as Thakoors, and a few wear the thread or janaoee. Sir H. Elliot, in page 258, under the article "Des" alludes, among others, to a district entered in the ancient registers in Sirkar Kumaun [as] *Bhooksas*, now Kilpooree, and Rooderpoor. Bhooksas is the n ame still used for localities inhabited by Bhooksas, without reference to any particular boundaries, as *Tharroah* signifies tracts inhabited by Thâroos.

"The *Thâroo* traditions state that they came from *Chittaur*, and refer to Jaimul and Patta: they state that they were driven from their homes and settled here. The reference would appear to indicate the third sack of Chittaur, about 1560 A. D. They claim to have been originally *Râjpoots*, and state that their ancestors lost their caste by taking to intoxicating liquors and eating fowls. I have never heard from them any allusion to a Goorkha or hill origin, an idea which the type of feature itself suggests. The Thâroos and the Bhooksas are sub-divided into Gotes, and interspersed with them are other tribes, who are generally called Thâroos, but who are quite distinct, such as the Goharwar, who claim to be Râjpoots, and are some probably of the Goharwars whom Sir H. Elliot describes in page 437 as a most interesting race, over whose origin much obscurity hangs. These men never intermarry with the Thâroos, abstain from liquor, and never rear fowls; others, again, are Dangurs, and looked down upon as a lower caste by the Thâroos.

"Sir H. Elliot says, referring to Bhooksas, that those who reside in Kilpuri and Subna are sent occasionally to intermarry with the Thâroos, and states them to be a tribe found inhabiting the forest under the hills from Pooranpore Subna on the Sardah to Chandpore on the Ganges. At present no village of Bhooksas is situated east of the Kitcha or Gola river, which is about 30 miles west of the Sardah river, and which is the existing boundary between the two tribes. The Bhooksas range from its west bank to the Ganges, and the Thâroos to the east, as far, I believe, as Gorakhpur. I have never heard of the two tribes intermarrying; indeed, the Bhooksas marry on attaining puberty, while the Thâroos are married as young as their

[1] Word left out in original.

means will permit. Cases occur of men of one tribe eloping with the women of the other, and a small village exists chiefly inhabited by the progeny of such left-handed marriages. It is situated exactly between where Bhooksa villages end and the Thâroo villages commence.

"Either tribe claims superiority of caste, and repudiates any attempt at tracing them to a common origin, or any connection between them. Nor is there, in my opinion, any evidence on which such an attempt could be based. Their claims to respective superiority, however, rest on very small grounds, the Bhooksas charging the Thâroos with rearing fowls, which they do; while the Thâroos say the Bhooksas sell flesh and fish, which they deny indignantly.

"It is a circumstance worth remarking that two tribes under such similar circumstances should have kept so distinct while being in such close proximity. They are both superstitious, and, as a rule, truthful, much given to intoxicating drinks, and not very chaste. Both more or less migrate, only continuing to cultivate land till it is exhausted, and then moving off to fresh grounds. Both are utterly reckless with water, with which they inundate their fields, if allowed to, and utterly careless of the swamps they may be forming: indeed, most of the worst swamps can be easily proved to owe their origin to the rude irrigating means used. Both tribes are supposed to be adepts in magical arts. A few Bhooksas, in conversation with me, have claimed such powers for persons of their caste, but generally they laugh at the idea, though they attribute their comparative immunity from marauders during the disturbances caused by the mutiny to the general belief in their superhuman powers, which the *Desees*, or plains people, entertained at the same time. They have the greatest confidence in the *Bararor*, or medicine men, who are consulted, on every occasion, and who mulct them heavily for their services.

"As a general rule, the Thâroo is more intelligent than the Bhooksa. He thoroughly recognizes the advantage of education, and only objects on the score of losing the labour of his lands, while the Bhooksa will not send his sons to school; at all events, I have never succeeded in persuading them to do so.

"Neither of these tribes attempt to offer any suggestion regarding the origin of their names. A Thâroo, it is true, will say that he came to live in the Tarai, and became Thâroos; but if the commonly accepted derivation of Tarai, *i.e.*, *Tivirhun*, to be wet or damp, is the true one, the initial *Th* of the word *Thâroo* is unaccounted for. The word 'Tarroo,' however, by which they are commonly known, has no sound of the *h*. But if they derived their denomination from the locality, the name must have been given to others; for among them the word *Tarai* applies to the low-lying land which is situated between the springs of the Chooka (which rises below the high bank boundary of the forest which intersects pargana Bilheri) and the river Sârdah. The spring level is here close to the surface, and the tract appears, in years gone by, to have been an island attached to the east bank of the Sârdah river. The soil is wet and damp in the extreme, and is termed *Tarai* in opposition to the comparatively higher land which constitutes the tract known by others as the Tarai.

The Bhooksas have no suggestion to offer on the origin of their name. They may have been called *Bhooksas* from settling in Bhooksar, *i.e.*, Kilpooree and Rooderpore. I gather from Sir H. Elliot that Udaya Jeet, whose descendants they are said to be, was the Raja of Dhar in the first half of the 11th century, but I have no means of knowing the date of the ancient register referred to in para. 5.

"It is uncommon to find a Bhooksa village with the same name as a Tharoo village. If the Bhooksas had retired gradually before the Thâroos from the Sârdah to the Golah, names still common among them might be expected in the three parganas inhabited by Thâroos east of the Golah, *alias* Kitcha, river; but I do not know of any instance, except such common names as *Birruia* or *Naholi*, which offer no clue; and when Bhooksas are found living in villages called Khanpur, Husainpur, Fattehgunj, and Deemurphera, any attempt at tracing them through their village names is hopeless.

"Neither of these tribes have any acknowledged leaders through whom, or through whose titles, a clue might be obtained. The office of *borwaiet*, or *kurbait*, of the Thâroos being hereditary, continues in certain families, but they now exercise no functions. It appears to have been given to certain Thâroo headmen by the Kumaun Rajas, for the reason assigned by Sir H. Elliot, in page 141 of his Supplementary Glossary. The Bhooksas in the Tarai still recognise the authority of a man who is, I believe, a resident of a village in Kashipore; but this authority appears also to have been conferred by Kumaun Rajas, and is chiefly exercised in settling private disputes relating to family matters, and is generally exercised by administering a whipping with a cloth.

"Thâroos in this district declare themselves distinct from those who live to the east of the Kauriala river in Oudh, whom they declare to be of very inferior caste—a compliment invariably returned by the few Thâroos I have met from that locality. These do not intermarry.

"Neither of these tribes claim for their ancestors the credit of excavating the tanks, or erecting the buildings, or sinking the masonry wells, ruins of which still exist in the Tarai, nor do they connect them in any way with their own history. To this day, neither the Thâroos nor Bhooksas build even earthen walls for their houses, which are made of posts driven into the ground with beams resting on them. The walls are made of reeds, locally termed *tant*, tied with grass, and generally smeared over with mud and cow-dung, with a thatched roof. The Thâroos keep their residences scrupulously clean. For wells, which they only use for drinking purposes, and never for irrigation, a hollowed tree is sunk in the ground. They employ hill or plains men as *lohars*, &c., which all tends to prove that they never possessed a knowledge sufficient to admit of their erecting the places and wells referred to above.

"Generally, all that can be considered as tolerably certain is that the Bhooksas came about the 11th century from Dharanagar, and the Thâroos in the 16th from Chittaur into the Tarai, where they sought a refuge, and which tract was never practically under Muhammadan rule, and was indeed looked upon as wild and dreadful by the troops of that power till the times of the Rohillà Pathans; that these

tribes assisted the Kumaun Rajas, by whom they were protected, and from whom they received sunnuds, &c.; that they were ever, as now, distinct; and that they were probably different branches of Râjpoots."[1]

Now, from the above report we ascertain the important fact that, like the Gorkhas, the *Thârus* claim to be descended from the Sisodias, or Guhilas, of Mewar, which is a very remarkable coincidence, to say the least of it; but, as in the case of the Gorkhas, I consider that this tradition of the Thârus must in reality refer merely to some ancient connection with, or descent from, the same branch of the so-called "Solar race" of Kshatriyas as that from which the Sisodias or Guhilas were descended, and which (as it refers to this part of the country) can be no other than the branch from which the Sakyas were descended, for it is out of the range of all possibility to suppose that if the Thârus had come to settle in the Tarai at so very late a period as the time of Jaimal and Patta, after the last sack of Chitor by Akbar, that they could so suddenly have assumed the features and complexions and general physiognomy of hill men which characterise the Thârus. If, therefore, the Thârus were really originally a tribe of Kshatriyas of the Solar race (or Sakyas?), they must have settled in the Tarai and in the lower ranges or spurs of the Himalayas at a very ancient period, and must have intermarried with hill women. But if the Thârus were of the same race as the Sakyas, whom I have previously shown reason to believe to have been descended from the same stock as the Sakas of Kumaon and the Khasas, then this would account for the features and complexion of the Tharus as having been simply their original natural characteristics, and on no other grounds, and by no other means, can we possibly in any way account for the remarkable fact that the *Gorkhas* (who were originally *Magars*) and the *Thârus* both claim to be descended from the same Solar race of *Kshatriyas*, as the Sisodias or Guhilas; and yet that they are both characterised by the features and complexions, and other general peculiarities, of hill men!

Of course, these views and opinions of mine are totally antagonistic to all the popular preconceived theories on these subjects, and totally subversive of all the traditions of the

[1] I believe that the *Tárus* received their name from the tract of country which they inhabit. *Taryáni* means simply the "wet country," and is an accurate description of the low-lying tract at the foot of the Himâlaya Mountains. The people who live in the *Taryáni*, or *Tarai*, are therefore properly named *Tárus*.

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Brahmans, or rather of the fabulous tales and genealogies which the Brahmans have concocted in order to account for the origin of certain tribes of so-called *Kshatriyas* who had, in ancient times, either forced themselves into the Hindu pale, by conquest and intimidation, or were admitted within the Hindu pale by the designing Brahmanical hierarchy of olden times, for their own ends and purposes. But these ideas are nothing new to me, and I have long held them; and nothing could now persuade me to the contrary: or that the Brahmans were right in their accounts, while I was all wrong in the conclusions which I have drawn from numerous undoubted facts,—only a very few of which, however, have been cursorily touched upon, or little more than hinted at, in this report. The full exposition of my opinions and arguments on the subject of Indian Ethnology, and on many matters connected with the history, ramifications, characteristics, and existing representatives of the Aryan race in general, will be reserved for a treatise specially devoted to that purpose, which I hope to be able to publish.

I am in the firm belief that a new era will yet dawn on the sciences of ethnology and philology.

But I must return again, for a few moments, to complete my remarks on the subject of the Thârus. From all that I can learn from people who have seen both the Eastern and Western Thârus, it would seem that there is very little, if any, difference in their general appearance between these two branches of the Thâru race, and that they appear virtually to be one and the same people, only that perhaps the Eastern Thârus are not so cleanly in their habits as the Western Thârus. Yet it would appear from Mr. Colvin's account that the Western Thârus fancy themselves to be superior to the eastern branch of that race, and pretend to hold themselves somewhat aloof from them; but I suspect that this sort of assumed squeamishness is of much the same sort as that of the pot which called the kettle black! It would also appear from Mr. Colvin's report that the Western Thârus do not lay claim to have constructed any of the old wells of masonry in the Tarai, nor to have founded any of the old buildings of which ruins remain. But I can confidently assert that the Eastern Thârus do lay claim to have been the founders of a number of ancient sites in the districts of Basti, Gonda, and Gorakpur; and not only so, but also that the Hindu inhabitants of these districts attribute the founding of a number of ancient places to the Thârus; and

among these is Bhuila, which I have identified as the site of Kapilavastu. I am therefore inclined to consider the Western Thârus to be a remnant of those of the old Ṣâkas of Kumaon who had settled on the plains; while I consider the Eastern Thârus to be a remnant of the Ṣâkyas who, as I have previously shown, were originally Sun-worshippers, and thereafter became Buddhists; and that consequently, when Buddhism was extirpated from India, they were outcasted by the victorious Brahman hierarchy; and that this is the true cause of the present degradation of the Thârus.

The whole argument may be logically summed up in a few words, as follows. The Thârus say that they are descended from the very same branch of the Solar race as that from which the Sisodias, or Guhilas, and the Ṣâkyas are known to have been descended; and consequently it would follow that the Thârus must be of the same race as the Ṣâkyas. Again, the Thârus say that they were the original founders of Bhuila, which I have identified as the actual site of Kapilavastu; and consequently it would follow that the Thârus must have been the founders of Kapilavastu. But we know that Kapilavastu was founded by the Sâkyas. Consequently it follows that the Thârus must be the descendants of the Sâkyas of Kapilavastu! *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

General Cunningham has noticed the fact that the Burmese Pali books place Kapilavastu in a part of India called the *Thekka*, or *Sekka*, country; and it has been suggested by General Cunningham that this name might possibly refer to the Sâkya country.[1]

I do not feel myself competent to offer any decided opinion as to the origin of this Burmese name of *Thekka* for the country of Kapilavastu. I may, however, mention that, about 9 miles to the west-north-west from Bhuila, there is a place called *Naipur Tikaut;* and again, about 6 miles to the south-south-east from Bhuila, there is a place called *Ektakwa.* Now, in Hindi, *thak*, or *thakkâ*, means "a clot," "a clod," "a lump," or "that which is thick or coagulated or conglomerated;" and it is remarkable that such a term would be particularly applicable to the heavy stiff soil about Bhuila. Again, in Hindi, *chîk*, or *chîkar*, means "mud," or "slime," or "land that has been recently irrigated;" and *chiktî* means "sticky, clayey soil;" while *chikâwat* means "black, clayey

[1] I suggested this identification because the *th* of the Burmese is the *s* of Sanskrit, as in *Thayet-myo* for *Sarit-myo*. The Burmese *th* is like *th* in think.

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soil." All of these terms would be exactly descriptive of the nature of the soil in the neighbourhood of Bhuila, which I have identified with Kapilavastu.

The *Thekka* of the Burmese may perhaps be the Hindi word *ṭhek*, "a support," "a prop," or *ṭheki*, "the act of resting a burden on the way."

With regard to the place called *Ektakwa*, in Hindi *tak* means "a look," or "a stare," and *ṭakûâ* means "a spindle," which latter word, as the name of a place, might perhaps refer to some kind of stûpa with a sharp-pointed top.

I would, however, beg to suggest that the *Thekka* of the Burmese chronicles may possibly refer to a country inhabited by the Takkas, who are a well-known tribe in the Punjab, and who are supposed to have been originally a hill people, from the north, or of Turanian descent, although I believe their name to have been really derived from the Sanskrit verbal root *tak*, "to bring forth," and that therefore *takka* may be synonymous with the Greek Τεσωοω, "offspring." I think it is very probable that this Takka race may originally, in ancient times, have extended much further east, and that they may perhaps primarily have been a branch of the same people as the Thârus, and the Maghs or Maghars. Now, the kingdom of the Takkas is called *Tse-kia* by the Chinese traveller Huen Thsang; and I think that this may possibly be synonymous with the *Thekka* of the Burmese chronicles; and if so, it would prove that the kingdom of Kapilavastu, or country of the Sâkyas, was really inhabited by the Takka race; and that therefore the Takkas are the same people as the Thârus, who claim to have founded Bhuila, which I have identified with Kapilavastu. This is further proved by the fact that the ancient capital city of the Takka country was called *Ṣâkala*; and therefore the Sâkalas were the same as the Takkas. Now, we know that the Sâkyas were at one time settled at a place to the south of the Punjâb, called *Potala*; and I therefore believe the Sâkyas to be the same as the Ṣâkalas, and consequently the same as the Takkas. I take both Sâkya and Sakala to be simply diminutive forms of Sâka, denoting that they were both descendants or offshoots from the great Sâka race of Kurmmâvan.

BHUILA—DIH.

The principal mound of ruins at Bhuila Tâl is situated on the western bank of the lake, rather near its head, or

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north-western end; from which point the lake extends in a south-easterly direction, and then turns round at an angle towards the east-north-east.[1] At the most easterly point of the lake, a small watercourse runs out of it, called the Dochûâṇ Nâla, which is perfectly dry during the hot weather. The village of Ama is situated on the eastern bank of the lake, in the angle made by its curve, and opposite to the broadest and most central portion of the lake. The village of Dabha is situated on the southern bank of the lake; and about half a mile to the south-south-west from that, there are the villages of Bâwarpâra and Bhaukari, and Parsa, at all of which there are mounds of ruins; and at the latter a curious earthen stûpa. About 800 feet from the western bank of the lake there is the old village of Jaitapûr; and between the village and the lake there are the remains of a large brick stûpa, which may perhaps mark the spot where Buddha competed in archery with the Sakyas. This stûpa was in a comparatively perfect condition, and of a considerable height, and was a conspicuous object of view when I first came to Bhuila; but it has since been nearly destroyed, and the bricks taken away, by the mischievous villagers.[2] I obtained three fragments of the stone umbrellas, and also the stone cap, which originally belonged to this stûpa. About 350 feet to the north-north-west from the village of Jaitapur, there is a deep, somewhat circular-shaped tank, about 120 feet in breadth across, called the Hâthi Kund, or Hâthi Gaḍhe, which probably represents the *Hasti Gartta* of the Buddhist traditions, where an elephant is supposed to have fallen, which Buddha is said to have thrown across the ditch of the city. It is said to have been a dead elephant, which had obstructed the way opposite the southern gate, and which had been killed by Devadatta. About 300 feet to the north from the Hâthi Gaḍhe or Hâthi Kund, there is a sort of ditch or channel, which in some parts, towards the eastern end, is both deep and broad, but becomes narrow and shallow towards its western end. This ditch runs, from a small marshy lake called the Nâka Tâl, eastwards, until it joins the great Lake of Bhuila; the distance between the two at this point being about 1,000 feet. On the southern side of the ditch there is a conical mound of earth, which looks like the

[1] See plates VIII, IX, and X for the position of Bhuila Tâl, and of all the other ancient sites referred to in the text.

[2] When I first came to Bhuila, this stûpa was 70 feet in diameter and 18 feet in height.

remains of an earthen stupa.[1] Immediately on the northern side of the ditch there are two mounds close together, and united by a somewhat low and narrow ridge. To the north of the last, and half-way between the ditch and the great mound of ruins called the Bhuila dîh, there are two intermediate, broad, flat mounds of ruins, which are probably the sites of ancient Vihâras, which are referred to by the Chinese traveller, Huen Thsang.

The great *Dîh*, or great mound of ruins, which was probably the site of the citadel and palaces, is situated about 650 feet to the north from the ditch, before mentioned. This mound measures about 1,090 feet across from north to south, by about 1,020 feet across from east to west. Following the irregularity of its outline, its circuit or circumference is about 3,600 feet, which is equal to upwards of four Chinese *li*, if the *li* be estimated as equal to about one-sixth of an English mile; but it would be equal to only about $3\frac{4}{10}$ Chinese *li* (or about $3\frac{1}{2}$ *li*), if the *li* be estimated as equal to about one-fifth of an English mile. Now, the Chinese traveller, Huen Thsang, describes the remains of the *palace* at Kapilavastu as being high and solid, and about *14 or 15 li* in circuit; while it will be seen that the result of my own measurement of the circuit of the great mound of ruins at Bhuila gives a mean of only about *4 li!* I can only suppose, therefore, that, as in the case of many other statements of dimensions given by the Chinese travellers, there has been an exaggeration as to the extent of the site of the palace at Kapilavastu.

What Huen Thsang calls the remains of a *palace* appears to me to be the remains of a fortified citadel, which contained numerous buildings of various kinds, and adapted to various purposes,—some, probably, palatial buildings,—some, apparently, the remains of small detached buildings,—others, the sites of temples, and also the ruined remains of two or three low stûpa mounds, or round-topped mounds of brick having the general contour or outline of low stûpas. Two faintly perceptible, or nearly effaced, and broken lines, one lower than and outside the other, run round the outer face or edge of the great plateau of ruins, showing the site of ancient inner and outer lines of fortification. There are eight depressions at the sides, showing the positions of former

[1] I have since been positively informed by the people here that this mound was formerly really a very high stûpa, but that it has gradually been demolished, year by year, by the petty zemindar on whose share of land it stands.

gateways. There is one depression on the northern side, another at the north-western corner, another on the western side, another at the south-western corner, two on the southern side, and two on the eastern side. There is a mound on the low ground, facing the northern gate; a second mound outside the north-western gate; a third, small, long-shaped mound, on the low ground facing the south-western gate; and a broad, flat-topped mound of bricks, facing the southern gate. Now, Huen Thsang states that, outside each of the *four gates,* there was a *vihâra,* or temple, each of which contained a statue of one of the *Four Predictive Signs* which Sâkya Muni encountered before he set out on his pilgrimage in order to obtain Buddhahood. The first of these contained the statue of an *old man;* the second contained the statue of a *sick man;* the third contained the statue of a *corpse;* and the fourth contained the statue of a *monk.* I therefore believe that the four mounds which lie outside, and opposite to four of the supposed gates of the great ruined site at Bhuila, represent the ruins of the four vihâras, which contained the four statues of the Four Predictive Signs, as described by the Chinese traveller. I excavated the mound opposite to the northern gate, and found that it contained the remains of a building, which may have been a temple, and also an ancient well. And during the course of excavation several ancient coins were found in this mound, one of which was a large copper coin of the Indo-Scythic king, *Wemo Kadphises;* and another was an ancient square copper coin, in beautiful preservation, and bearing a great number and variety of Buddhhist symbols; while a third coin bore the name of a Hindu king called *Purushadata.* I also obtained a punch-marked coin here.

About 700 feet to the north from the great Dîh of Bhuila there is an earthen mound about 210 feet in length by about 100 feet in breadth; beyond it there is a large square tank; and on the northern and eastern sides of the tank, the ground is somewhat high, and is strewed with fragments of brick and pottery. Immediately beyond this, on the north-eastern side, the ground is low, and was evidently once the bed of a former extension of the head of the lake, by which it communicated with other smaller lakes to the north.

About 800 feet to the west-south-west from the great Dîh of Bhuila, there is a very large, shallow, marshy lake, called Aghèa Tâl, which, however, becomes nearly dry during the very hot weather, with the exception of a few pools of water

which remain here and there. This lake is upwards of 3,000 feet in length, from north to south, by from 1,400 to 1,000 feet in breadth. Towards the north-west its extent is not easily defined, as it becomes connected with other similar shallow lakes in that direction, which form the sources of the Rawai River, which really rises from some lakes about 6½ miles to the north-west from Bhuila Tâl. In fact, the Aghèa Tâl, which lies close upon the west side of Bhuila, is simply a portion of an ancient bed of the Rawai River, which originally ran into Bhuila Tâl, and then issued forth again by the Dochûâṅ Nâla, which falls into the Kuano River; while a branch of the latter joins the Majhôra River, to the south-east, near Hardi. The Aghèa Tâl fines off, at its south-eastern end, into some very low rice-grounds, which become flooded during the rains, and which take a turn round to the north until they meet the small Nâka Tâl, which lies close to the southern side of the great *Dîh* of Bhuila; and, as I before stated, a *ditch* runs from the small Nâka Tâl to the great lake of Bhuila. And thus, during the height of the rains, when the Aghèa Tâl becomes full of water, its surplus waters empty themselves, through the Nâka Tâl, into the great lake of Bhuila. The Aghèa Tâl is named after the village of Aghèa, which is situated on some high ground on the western bank of the lake; and 1,200 feet to the south from the village of Aghèa there is a mound of ruins, of an irregular, quadrilateral shape, which measured 165 feet on the north-east side, 130 feet on the south-east side, 155 feet on the north-west side, and 100 feet on the south-west side. From the north-eastern corner of the Aghèa Tâl, a faintly definable depression of ground, which was originally a ditch, runs in a north-north-easterly direction until it meets a tank; and it extends again beyond the tank in a north-easterly direction, until it meets the lake of Bhuila, about 500 feet to the north of the great *Dîh,* or ruined site of the citadel. This line of depression was originally the northern ditch of the citadel, but it is now so cut up into rice-fields that it has become nearly effaced, and is only very faintly distinguishable. The great citadel of Bhuila, or Kapilavastu, must thus originally have been cut off by water on all sides, namely, by a ditch on the north and north-west, by the Aghèa Tâl on the west and south-west, by the Nâka Tâl on the south-south-west, by a ditch on the south, and by the great lake of Bhuila on the east. The total area, however, which is included within this ancient water-lined boundary, is much greater

than that of the mere elevated site of the citadel, because this area extends beyond the site of the citadel for 500 feet to the ditch on the north, for 300 feet to the ditch and tank on the north-west, for about 280 feet to a portion of the ditch on the west, for 1,350 feet to the Aghèa Tâl on the south-west, for 70 feet to the Nâka Tâl on the south and south-south-west, for about 560 feet to the *ditch* on the south and south-south-east, and for about 100 feet to the edge of the great lake of Bhuila on the east. This would give a total area with a circuit of about from 9,000 to 10,000 feet, which would be equal to from about $8\frac{1}{2}$ to about $9\frac{1}{2}$ Chinese *li*. But even this would be from 5 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ *li* less than the estimate given by Huen Thsang, of *14 or 15 li*, for the circuit of the palace at Kapilavastu. Now, between 14 and 15 *li* would be roughly equal to about 3 English miles, while the great fort of Agra is only about a mile and one-third in circuit, including the outer ditch! It is evident, therefore, that the estimate of the circuit of the palace at Kapilavastu, given in the travels of Huen Thsang, must be a gross exaggeration; and that the original estimate must more probably have been *4 or 5 li*, which the Chinese copyists altered to *14 or 15 li,* because they did not think that a circumference of *4 or 5 li* was sufficiently grand for the palace of the royal father of such a great personage as Buddha! If we take the Chinese *li* to be equal to one-fifth of a mile, then the fort of Agra is about $6\frac{9}{10}$ *li* in circumference; while the great *Dîh*, or ruined site of the citadal at Bhuila, is about 3,600 feet, or about $3\frac{4}{10}$ *li*, or nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ *li* in circumference, so that it is only about half the size of the entire circumference of the fort of Agra, including its outer ditch along with it; but if we exclude the outer ditch, beyond the walls, from the estimate of the circumference of the fort of Agra, then the great ruined site of the citadel at Bhuila will be equal to about two-thirds of the extent of the actual fort of Agra,—which, I think, is surely an even more than sufficiently ample space to have included all the palatial buildings of the old Sâkya Rajas of Kapilavastu.

On the north-eastern side of the lake, and exactly opposite the great Dîh of Bhuila, there is a small knob-shaped mound of bricks and earth, which is evidently the remains of a former stûpa, which must have been the most prominent and conspicuous object in this locality, as it could be seen from all points. This mound of bricks has since been nearly totally demolished by the zamindars, and this act of

destruction was performed by them while I was at Bhuila. For some distance around this, especially on the south-east and east, and partly also towards the north, the ground is high, and is strewed with fragments of brick and pottery. This is the highest tract of ground, of such an extent, anywhere about the lake (with the exception, of course, of the great Dîh); and from the numerous fragments of brick and pottery which are constantly turned up by the plough, it is evident that this must have been the site of a portion of the ancient city, which stood on the other or eastern side of the lake, opposite to the "palace" Dîh, or Raja's citadel. The very highest portion of this ground on the eastern side of the lake is about 1,200 feet in extent from north to south, by about 900 feet from east to west. But this is only the most distinctly marked portion of the high ground, for traces of bricks and pottery are found in the soil all the way to the village of Ama, a distance from the stûpa mound of 1,800 feet to the south-east; also for a still greater distance towards the east; and for a distance, from the stûpa mound, of about 900 feet towards the north. This eastern portion of the city was in fact bounded by a small lake called the *Saraiya Tâl* on the north, and by the great lake of Bhuila on the south and west; while towards the east its original bounds are difficult to define, but fragments of brick and pottery may be found here and there in the fields all the way eastwards to Prâs Dîh, a distance of a mile and one-third; and besides the great mound of ruins on which the village of Prâs Dîh is situated, there are three other smaller mounds of ruins, named respectively *Rânipur Dîh*, *Pokrah*, and also traces of bricks near Bâgh Dîh. I have, however, calculated that this eastern portion of the actual city, in a restricted sense, in this quarter, must have had a circuit of upwards of 10,000 feet. But, as I shall presently be able to show, this only formed a comparatively small detached eastern portion of the total extent of the ancient city; for I have reason to believe that the ancient city, with its attached suburbs, must have had a total extent of about 2 miles and one-third from north to south, or from the mounds of Bâwarpâra and Parsâ on the south, to the mounds of Atroha on the north, with an uneven and somewhat broken and not easily definable breadth from east to west,—the greatest breadth of the city on the western side of the lake having probably been about 1,600 feet, while the breadth of the eastern portion of the city on

the eastern side of the lake cannot have been much less than 2,000 feet. This would give a total breadth of the city, from east to west, of about 3,600 feet, or about two-thirds of a mile.

About 2,000 feet to the north-north-west from the great Dîh of Bhuila there is a square tank. On its northern side there is a slightly elevated piece of ground, planted with trees, which is called Raghupur Dîh, but there are no traces whatever of any ruins there, except in one spot. This is bounded on the north-west by a small lake, which is about 1,500 feet in length by about 500 feet in breadth. Close beyond this, to the north-west, there is the large village of Mâhua Dâbar which is mostly inhabited by a set of so-called Râjpûts of the Kalahâns tribe, who have a very questionable right to the position which they occupy. Immediately to the east-north-east of the village of Mâhua Dâbar there is a very small lake, which is about 700 feet in length by about 400 feet in breadth. On the east and north-east side of this small lake there is the first portion of a series of mounds of ruins, which go by the name of *Atroha*. The southern end, or commencement, of this range of mounds lies about 3,400 feet to the north from the great Dîh of Bhuila. These mounds are divided into two portions, one of which lies to the south-western side of a village called Kotwa, and the other lies a little further to the north-west, a short distance to the west of a village called Râmapur. A very small lake lies between these two portions of the mounds. The southernmost of these two sites consists of a raised piece of ground, about 1,300 feet in length from north to south by about 700 feet in breadth from east to west; but the ancient village of Kotwa impinges on the north-eastern corner of this site, and adds perhaps about 200 feet more to the site each way. On the southern portion of this site there are the remains of two small stûpa mounds of brick over-grown with small trees and bushes. One of these stûpa mounds lies about 200 feet to the north of the other, and there is an oblong-shaped, raised site, full of bricks, which lies between them. About 150 feet to the east of the latter there are the remains of a third very much smaller stûpa mound. These three small stûpa mounds form the figure of a nearly equilateral triangle between them.

The second portion of the Atroha mounds, called *Gatha*, is situated about 270 feet to the north-west from the former

across a very small lake, or long-shaped pond. The area of ground covered by this second portion of the Atroha mounds is about 630 feet in extent from north to south, by about 800 feet across from east to west at the southern end, while it is only about 450 feet in breadth from east to west towards the northern end. At the south-eastern corner of this area there is an irregular quadrilateral-shaped mound, full of fragments of bricks, which looks like the remains of a small fort. This mound of ruins is of a considerable height on the east side; and there is a high, circular, conical heap at the south-east corner, which appeared to me to be the remains of a large bastion; and there is also the trace of the former existence of a small bastion at the north-east corner.

On the western side there is a long, narrow, slightly raised ridge, which appeared to mark the site of a former wall on that side; and this terminates with a broader and somewhat higher projection at the northern end, which may have been another bastion. This mound measured about 170 feet on its northern and southern sides, about 180 feet on its eastern side, and about 150 feet on its western side. About 220 feet to the west from this mound, and exactly parallel to it western side, there is an exceedingly curious, long, narrow, ridge-shaped mound, which looks exactly like the back of a whale just above water, or like a very long canoe turned bottom upwards. This mound is very narrow and very long. It runs to a sharp point at each end, and is broadest in the middle. It rises to a considerable height in the middle, and slopes gradually down to nothing at each end. This ridge is about 180 feet in length from north-north-east to south-south-west. At the middle it measured about 30 feet across in actual diameter, or about 50 feet over the protuberant curve of the top; while at each end it measured next to nothing. About 80 feet to the west from this curious long-shaped mound, one comes upon the high bank of an ancient tank. The dimensions of this tank are about 180 feet from north to south, by about 170 feet from east to west. It is surrounded by very high banks or mounds on the eastern, southern, and western sides; and these mounds are full of fragments of brick and pottery, so that it is evident that the tank must have been surrounded by buildings on three sides.

About 170 feet to the north-east from the tank there is another mound-covered site. This site has an extent of about 340 feet from north to south, with a breadth of about 140 feet

from east to west. At the south-western side, however, there is also a somewhat raised piece of ground, but which slopes down to nothing towards the west. The raised piece of ground first mentioned is composed, as it were, of two squares, joined together north and south, the two measuring together, as I before stated, about 340 feet from north to south, by about 140 feet from east to west. The southernmost of the two squares has three small conical mounds of brick on its western side, one at each end and one at the middle of the side. The northernmost square has a small conical mound of brick, about the middle of its eastern side.

At the distance of about 50 feet to the east from the last-named site there is a high mound of ruins, which is of a quadrilateral figure, with a high and long projection at the north-west corner. This site measured about 90 feet on the south side; about 110 feet on the east side; about 120 feet on the north side, including the breadth of the projection at the north-west corner; and about 170 feet on the west side, including the length of the projection at the north-west corner. This mound is a mass of bricks, and must have been the site of some large building. A short distance from the north-east corner of this site there is an old well, and beyond that the remains of an old tank or pond.

About 800 feet to the east from the last-named site there is the ancient village of Râmapur, which is itself mostly situated on a mound of ruins. Close to the south side of Râmapur there is a small, long, narrow-shaped lake, which lies exactly half-way between Râmapur and Kotwa. The village of Râmapur lies about 450 feet to the north-west from the village of Kotwa.

About from 800 to 1,000 feet to the north from the village of Râmapur there is a large lake called *Nariwa Tâl*, which is nearly 3,000 feet in length from east to west, by about 900 feet in breadth from north to south. This large lake lies about 1,000 feet to the north from the most northerly of the Atroha or Gaṛha mounds. When this lake, the Nariwa Tâl, is flooded during the rains, its surplus water does not empty itself to the south towards the Bhuila Tâl, but to the north, through a succession of small lakes and nalas, to the east of Kot, and by way of Bauhân and Behâri, to the Bisui River. But immediately to the south and west of Atroha Dîh, all surplus waters run either towards the Bhuila Lake or towards the Rawai River. From these two facts it

would appear as if Atroha formed part of a land's height, or watershed.[1]

This ruined site, called Atroha, with its assemblage of detached mounds, must evidently anciently have constituted the most northerly extension of the city of Kapilavastu, if I am right in my general identification of Bhuila as the site of the ancient capital of the Ṣâkyas. In fact, an ancient causeway, or road paved with bricks, appears to have extended, in ancient times, all the way northward from the northern edge of Bhuila Dîh to the southern edge of Atroha Dîh; remains of this causeway have been dug up in the fields here and there along this line; and the bricks of this causeway finally crop out on the northern edge of a small rising ground called Râghupur Dîh, close to the south of Atroha. The name *Atroha* is a curious one, and it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conjecture as to its etymological origin. In Sanskrit, *Ati-roha* might mean either the very brown, or the very red, or the exceeding lamentation.

The Kalahâns Râjpûts of the neighbouring village of Mahua Dâbar say that when they first came to this locality Atroha was in the possession of the Bhars. In fact, according to another tradition which I heard, it would appear that the ancestor of the Kalahâns Râjpûts was in the service of the Bhar Raja; and that on the occasion of a marriage feast among the Bhars, they (the Bhars) got drunk, when the Kalahâns and his followers arose and slew all the Bhars and took possession of their property.

I have previously stated that I believed that the ancient city of Kapilavastu extended from Atroha Dîh on the north, to Bâwarpâra Dîh and Parsâ Dîh on the south, a distance of about 2 miles and a third. The village of Bâwarpâra is situated on a high mound of ruins, about 2,700 feet due south from Bhuila Tâl. There is a broad ditch of water on the north and north-western sides of Bâwarpâra Dîh. This mound of ruins is upwards of 600 feet in extent from east to west, with an uncertain breadth of from about 450 feet to 800 feet from north to south. But while the mound is high on the northern and western sides, it slopes down gradually on the southern side, and the fields are strewed with fragments of brick and pottery, for some distance beyond, towards the south. The village of Bâwarpâra covers the eastern half of the great

[1] I have, however, since been informed that another nala runs out of the Nariwa Tâl in a south-westerly direction, and thus contributes to the sources of the Rawai or Rohwai River.

mound. On the north-western part of the mound there is a sort of round-shaped tumulus of bricks, on which there is a large tree growing.

The small village of Parsâ is situated about 1,000 feet to the west-north-west from Bâwarpâra Dîh; while Parsâ Dîh, or the mound of ruins at Parsâ, is situated a short distance to the south of the village of that name, and about 950 feet to the west from Bâwar Pâra Dîh. This site, called Parsâ Dîh, is a quadrilateral, raised piece of ground, about 250 feet across each way. About the middle of the western side of this site there is a very curious small hemispherical earthen stûpa, which looks very much like a large cup or bowl turned upside down. This small stûpa mound is apparently composed of a kind of sandy earth mixed with fragments of brick; and it had a thick clump of high rank grass growing on the top of it, like a shock of stiff hair growing straight on end. The edges of this stûpa have been very much cut away round the base, by the villagers, for the sake of getting a few more feet of ground for ploughing. The ground slopes gradually up towards the stûpa, and is strewed with small fragments of brick and pottery.

About a mile and one-third to the south-east from Bhuila Tâl there is a very ancient mound of ruins called *Perâre*, or *Pindâri Dîh*, from the name of a village which is situated on the north-eastern side of it. This mound of ruins is only about one-third less in size than the great Dîh of Bhuila, as Pindâri Dîh measured about 900 feet in length from north to south, by about 660 feet on the south side, and upwards of 300 feet on the north side. But, at the same time, Pindâri Dîh is one mass of bricks, and very large bricks are sometimes dug out of it. The most important fact connected with this site is that Indo-Scythic coins are frequently found on the mound during the rains. I myself received about a dozen of these coins from Pindâri Dîh; and the majority of them were large copper coins of the Indo-Scythic King Kanishka, and the remainder were of one of his successors. Several coins of the Sunga or Mitra dynasty were also found at Pindâri. The people pronounce the name of the place as *Perâre.* There were three very small low mounds of brick ruins near the west side of Pindâri Dîh.

I have previously cursorily mentioned a place called *Prâs Dîh.* The name of this place is most absurdly and wrongly given as *Ourasdeeh* in the maps. The large ancient village of Prâs Dîh is situated on a mound of ruins

about a mile and three-quarters due east from Bhuila Dîh, and about three-quarters of a mile east from the eastern end of Bhuila Tâl. Judging by the extent of the mound of ruins on which the village of Prâs Dîh is situated, I should say that it must have been the site of an ancient town, probably an eastern suburb of Kapilavastu.

In the fields close to the south side of Prâs Dîh, I saw the remains of the foundations of two buildings composed of ancient bricks. These may possibly have been the sites of *vihâras*, or temples.

About a quarter of a mile to the west of Prâs Dîh there is a very large ancient tank, called Pokhra. This is surrounded by high banks, which are full of fragments of brick and pottery. I saw a pânwâri, or plantation of pân plants, on the east side of the tank.

Again, about half a mile, or less, to the south-west of Prâs Dîh, and about 1,000 feet from the eastern end of the lake of Bhuila, there is another mound of ruins, called *Rânipûr Dîh;* and there are the remains of a small tank near the north-east side of the mound. From the name of this mound of ruins, *Rânipûr Dîh*, it must evidently have received the appellation on account of some Râni, or queen; and I have, therefore, a strong suspicion that it preserves the memory of Mâyâ Devi, Queen of Kapilavastu, and mother of Buddha! I found the traces of an ancient road running past this mound, in an easterly direction, when I first came to Bhuila. In many places this old road had been ploughed up into fields and entirely obliterated, but it re-appeared again here and there in spots at broken intervals. I traced fragmentary portions of this ancient highway for a distance of about 4 miles in an easterly direction, and I believe that it is the last remains of the ancient track along which Mâyâ Devi travelled on her journey to the Lumbini Garden and Koli or Vyâghrapura! I regret, however, to say that, during the latter half of this year, 1875, since I have been at Bhuila, many portions which remained of this ancient road, and which I had traced, have been ruthlessly ploughed up and obliterated for ever! It is remarkable, however, that the first time I discovered a portion of this ancient track, and placed my feet upon it, I exclaimed at once, "This is the road to the Lumbini Garden, and to Koli!" And it turned out eventually to be true, as will afterwards be seen. On one fragmentary portion of this track I found fragments of brick imbedded in the earth, as if it had originally been part of a causeway.

But perhaps the most distinct, striking, and imposing of the more outlying ruined sites, in the vicinity of Bhuila, is the following:—

About 4½ miles due north from Bhuila Dîh, and about 2 miles to the south of the Bisûi River, there is a high mass of solid brick ruins, which are the remains of an ancient fortress of great strength, and which is called *Kot*, or the fort. It is only about two-thirds of the size of the great Dîh of Bhuila, but it is much higher. When I visited it, the interior of this ancient ruined fortress was filled with dense and almost impenetrable jangal. The ruins of *Kot* are composed of the same kind of ancient bricks as Bhuila Dîh, and it must be of equal antiquity with the latter. It is, therefore, somewhat strange that this fort does not appear to have been noticed either by Fa-Hian or Huen Thsang, unless indeed it may have been included among the *ten deserted towns* of Kapilavastu mentioned by Huen Thsang.

The fort of Kot is quadrangular, and measured about 740 feet from north to south, by about 520 feet from east to west. There are high, massive bastions of brick, at the four angles and at the four sides; the bastions on the eastern and northern sides and the north-eastern angle being the highest. The ramparts are high, broad, and solid; and the descent from the ramparts into the interior is very great. The whole fort is one mass of solid brick.

On descending into the interior, one descends, as it were, into a pit filled with suffocatingly dense jangal, which entirely hides everything around one from view. While standing on the ramparts, however, my attention had been attracted by two high, somewhat conical-shaped, masses of brick ruins, one of which is situated about the centre of the fort, and the other to the east of it. I accordingly made my way to the spot, and found that these two high masses of ruins were connected by a raised ridge of bricks, which ran between them from one to the other.

A large Python (or Indian Boa-constrictor) is said to have been caught in the jangal in this old fort two or three years ago, and it is said to have been taken away by some gentlemen.

Close to the south of the fort outside there is a pond of water, and from this a ditch originally ran round the whole outer circuit of the fort on the other three sides. The ditch is nearly filled up ando bliterated on the western side, but

on the northern and eastern sides the hollow line of the ditch is still very distinct.

To the east of the fort, the large village of Kot is situated on a ridge of ruins, which is evidently the site of an ancient town. It is now inhabited by Bisén Râjpûts. To the north-west of the fort there is a very small village, inhabited by a few Gautam Râjpûts, which appears to be situated on part of a mound of ruins. To the west of the fort there is a small round-topped mound of ruins, with a large tree growing on the top of it. Some few hundred feet beyond this to the west, in the fields there are traces of brick ruins in one spot, from which some unknown hidden treasure is said to have been abstracted by some people who came on horseback at night.

About a quarter of a mile to the north-west of Kot there is a long, shallow, marshy lake, which is only filled with water during the rainy season, but gets dry during the hot season.

All the lakes in this part of the country must, in ancient times, have been both larger and deeper than they are now; but they become gradually filled up by the agency of a kind of reed called *narai*. Thus Bhuila Tâl has lost fully one-third of its original extent, which can still be traced. And as the lakes become more and more filled up, the rivers which they feed decrease in size, and nearly dry up, or become mere nalas; and thus, as will afterwards be shown, the Rohini River has become a mere concatenation of small nalas and small marshy lakes.

There is another mound of ruins, and apparently also the remains of a very small stûpa, at a place called *Sentûa*, about a mile and three quarters to the north-north-west from Bhuila Dih; and another mound of ruins called *Morér Dîh* lies about three-quarters of a mile to the north-north-east from Sentûa, or about half-way between Bhuila and Kot.

At a village called *Sîkhari*, 2½ miles to the north-east from Bhuila, there is a large and important mound of ruins, and I think, perhaps, also the remains of the base of a stûpa, which will be described further on.

At a place called *Bhaṭâ*, or *Kosahra*, a mile and a half to the north-west of Bhuila Dîh, there is an important collection of ruins, mostly, apparently, the ruins of small stûpas, which will afterwards be described in their proper place further on.

I also saw a somewhat low or flattish mound of ruins at a village called *Makoiya* (the *Mukooea* of the maps), about

$3\frac{3}{4}$ miles to the north-west half north-north-west from Bhuila. The traces of ruins at Makoiya are said to have been more distinct some years ago; but they have been much dug out and levelled down, for the sake of bricks and cultivation.

At the village of *Dharaowa* (the *Dhundhowa* of the maps), 3 miles to the north-west from Bhuila, there is a very large ancient tank, called *Dharaowa Sâgar*, which is surrounded on three sides, by very high embankments. This *Sâgar* was constructed, in very ancient times, on the ancient line of road which ran from Kapilavastu to *Sehetmehet*, *Srâvasti mahatmi*.

At the east side of the village of *Intwa*, on the right or west bank of the Rawai River, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west-south-west from Bhuila, there is a mound of brick ruins.

At *Sâṅ-dîh* (mis-spelt *Suandee* in the maps), on the east or left bank of the Rawai River, a mile and a quarter to the south-west from Bhuila, there are traces of the sites of brick ruins, and an ancient well at the west side of the village.

Lastly, near a place called *Garha*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south from Bhuila Dîh, there is a small mound of brick ruins (also called *Intwa*), to the west of a small, middle-aged, dilapidated mud fort. The brick ruins are attributed to the Thârûs, which latter people also gave their name to a village called *Thârûapur* (the *Tharoopoor* of the maps), $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the south of Garha. But Thârûapur is now inhabited by Brahmans.

I might mention several other places, such as *Puraina*, *Bhîti*, and *Kanrakpur* (the *Kundrukpoor* of the maps), in the same south-westerly direction, where small mounds, or traces of ruins, are found; but they would be out of place here, and I have already mentioned more than enough of such places.

There are, however, other sites, of much more interest and importance, such as *Nagra* to the north-west; *Kanakpur*, or *Khôpawâ Dîh*, to the west; *Sarkûhia* to the south-south-east; *Budhapâra* and *Majhâwaṅ*, and the *Varâha Kshetra*, to the east,—all of which will hereafter be noticed and fully described in their proper order.

16.—IDENTIFICATION OF VARIOUS SITES.

I must now return again, once more, to the immediate neighbourhood of the great Dîh, or ruined mound of the

citadel, at *Bhuila,* which I have identified with what Huen Thsang calls the "*Palace*" of *Kapilavastu.* For the perfect identification of this site, the fixed ascertainment of certain other contingent points is absolutely necessary; and I will therefore now proceed to take the latter into consideration *seriatim.*

1.—Huen Thsang mentions that, at the distance of three or four *li* to the south of the city, there was a stûpa in a forest, or grove, of *Nyagrôdha* trees, which was raised on the spot where "*Sâkya Tathâgata*" (or Buddha), on returning to his native country, after having obtained the "supreme intelligence" ("buddhi"), saw his father, and explained the "Law" to him. I have identified this stûpa with the curious hemispherical mound, or earthen barrow, which stands on the Dîh of Parsâ, a short distance to the south of the village of Parsâ, and which has already previously been described. The distance of this earthen mound, southwards, from the "ditch" at the south side of Bhuila Dîh, or the citadel of Kapilavastu, is about 4,230 feet, which is equal to about four Chinese *li*, at the rate of five *li* to a mile.

2.—The stûpa which was raised on the spot where the Prince Siddhârtha, or Buddha, contended or competed with the rest of the Sâkyas in archery, was, according to Huen Thsang, situated at some distance outside, and to the south of the southern gate of the town, and to the left (or east) side of the road; by which I would suppose that he must, of course, have meant from the southern gate of the citadel, as Huen Thsang himself states that the extent of the city, or town, could not be ascertained; and, consequently, if the extent of the city, or town, was not known, it is impossible that any of the gates of the town could be known. It is, therefore, evident that the "Stûpa of Archery" must have been situated at some distance to the south of either the southern gate of the citadel, which Huen Thsang calls a "Palace," or else to the south of the southern ditch of the citadel.

Now, I have already mentioned that, at a moderate distance to the south of the great Dîh, or ruined citadel mound, at Bhuila, on the bank of the lake, 760 feet to the east of the village of Jaitapur, there are the remains of a large brick stûpa, which was in a comparatively entire state, and nearly 20 feet in height, when I first came to Bhuila, but which has since been nearly totally destroyed, and the bricks taken away, through the mischievousness, or ill-will, of the native zamindars. This stûpa, or what remains of it,

is situated about 2,050 feet to the south-south-east from the great Dîh, or ruined mound of the citadel, of Bhuila. I believe that this is the stûpa that was raised to mark the spot on which Prince Siddhârtha stood when he performed his feats of archery; and it must evidently have been at some considerable distance from the palace, as it is stated by Huen Thsang that the elephant which Devadatta killed on the road near the ditch was being taken to bring Prince Siddhârtha back again from the place where he had been victoriously competing with the other Sâkyas in archery, &c.

3.—I have already pointed out and identified a certain deep, nearly circular tank, at Bhuila, which is generally called the "*Hathi Gadhe*," or "*Hathi Kund*," between the southern ditch of *Bhuila Dih* and the village of Jaitapur, as the "*Hasti Gartta*," where the dead elephant is supposed to have fallen, which Prince Siddhârtha, or Buddha, is said to have thrown across the ditch. The "*Hathi Kund*" is situated about 340 feet to the south of the "ditch." But we have yet to find the stûpa which was erected on the spot from which Buddha is said to have thrown the elephant. As it would appear to be indicated that Buddha threw the elephant across the ditch, southwards, the stûpa that marked the spot from which he threw it should apparently be looked for on the northern side of the ditch. Now, although there are four or five irregular-shaped, flat-topped, mounds of ruins on the northern side of the ditch, between the ditch and the great *Dih*, there are none of these mounds of such a height or shape as would indicate a stûpa. In fact, these low, broad mounds would rather appear to have been the sites of buildings, such as *Vihârs*, with the houses or habitations connected with them. But immediately on the southern edge of the ditch, and 330 feet to the north-east of the *Hathi Kund*, there is a pretty high, somewhat conical-shaped, isolated mound of earth, which appears to me to be evidently the remains of a stûpa, which, no doubt, has been gradually stripped of its bricks by the zamindars, or villagers.[1] But if this be the remains of the stûpa referred to by Huen Thsang, then it is plain that it must have been meant to say that Buddha threw the elephant from the ditch, and not "across" the ditch. This appears to me to be the more probable, from the circumstances mentioned in the

[1] I have been assured by the people here that this mound was formerly a very high stûpa, but that it has gradually been demolished by the zamîndars.

account of the matter given by Huen Thsang, as will be seen from the following abstract which I have made in English from Huen Thsang's description of *Kapilavastu*, as given in M. Stanislas Julien's French translation.

After the victorious conclusion of Prince Siddhârtha's contest, or competition, with the other rival Sâkyas, in feats of archery, &c., an elephant, with its driver, was sent to bring the Prince Royal back again to the palace. *Devadatta* met the elephant going, and asked the driver (or mahout) where he was taking the elephant to. The elephant-driver replied that he was taking the elephant to fetch the *Prince Royal*, who was about to return. *Devadatta* thereupon became transported with fury, and killed the elephant, which, consequently, fell dead upon the road which led to the southern gate of the palace, or citadel; and the elephant's body thus, of course, obstructed the road-way, by lying across it. Presently, "*Sundarananda*" came to the spot, and enquired who had killed the elephant; and on being told that it was Devadatta, he (*Sundarananda*) drew the dead elephant out of the road. Lastly, at length, the Prince Royal himself, in his turn, arrived upon the scene, and asked who had committed this evil action and killed the elephant; and on being informed that it was Devadatta, the Prince raised the elephant, and launching it in the air, caused it to pass over the ditch of the city. And at the place where the elephant fell, it formed a deep ditch (that is, rather a deep hole or depression in the ground), which in after-times popular tradition continued to call "the ditch, or pit, of the elephant" (or "*Hasti-garta*"). (Literally, *Elephant's Pit.*)

Now, from the above account, of which I have given a free and explanatory rendering, while, at the same time also keeping true to the facts and circumstances of the original, two things become plainly evident; of which one is, that the elephant was going, on a common open road, on its way out to fetch the Prince Royal from his field of victory back to the palace, or citadel, and that therefore the elephant must have been at some distance outside and beyond the reach of any of the houses or other buildings, or streets, near the citadel; and the other is, that the place where the Prince Royal had been performing his victorious exploits in archery, &c., must have been situated at some considerable distance from the citadel, as it was considered necessary to send an elephant thither in order to bring the Prince back: and the elephant had evidently already proceeded some little distance

on its way, when it was met and killed by *Devadatta*; and yet it would appear that the *Prince Siddhârtha* must have been much farther off still, as it is plain that he could not have either seen or heard anything at the moment of the commotion caused by the crashing fall of so huge an animal as the elephant; for it would seem as if the Prince did not know anything about the death of the elephant at all until he arrived late at the spot some time afterwards, and not until after the carcase of the dead elephant had been dragged out of the road by *Sundarananda*.

Now, the whole space immediately on the northern side of the southern ditch, and between the ditch and the great *dîh* of the *citadel*, appears to have been originally entirely covered with brick buildings, of which the traces still remain, consisting of broadish, flattened mounds, brick foundations, heaps of broken bricks, and fragments of brick scattered about everywhere; and I therefore believe that the outer southern gate, leading to the citadel, must have been close to the edge of the ditch, or that it opened directly upon the northern edge of the ditch. In this case it is exceedingly improbable, and contrary to all known custom, that elephants would be permitted to be kept, or to remain inside, the gate, within the ditch, and on a site, too, which, as I have already shown, is entirely covered with the traces of the foundations of very ancient brick buildings; and, consequently, I believe that the elephant which was killed by *Devadatta* must have been on the open road, immediately outside, or to the south, of the ditch, and just where the isolated earthen mound is, which I believe to be the remains of a stûpa, and round the western and southern edges of which mound the old road still continues to wind, and which road runs from the southern foot of the great dîh of the citadel, and from thence across the ditch, and from the ditch southwards to the village of Jaitapur. And the fact that this isolated mound is situated absolutely on the ancient line of road, which led from the southern gate of the citadel, and across the ditch southwards, constitutes a very strong point in its favour.

4. I have already, in a previous paragraph, identified the sites of the four *Vihâras*, which contained the four statues of the "*Four Predictive Signs*," which stood opposite to four of the gates of the citadel; and I therefore need not again refer to these four mounds, except merely to make a few further remarks concerning one of these mounds opposite to the north gate, which I excavated.

This mound is situated 220 feet to the north from the great "dîh" of Bhuila. The actual mound itself, before I excavated it, measured about 100 feet from east to west, by about 90 feet from north to south; I found that it contained the remains of buildings which covered a space of about 85 feet from east to west, by about 75 feet from north to south. The principal building, of which the foundations remained most perfect, occupied the southern half of this area, and measured about 39 feet from east to west, by about 30 feet, in one part, from north to south; and it appeared to be divided into four small chambers; but the traces of the northern wall were not so perfectly distinguishable. The breadth of this building was apparently less at the eastern end, which was impinged upon by an ancient well, which I discovered during the course of the excavation, and which I cleared out, and there is now good water in it. A few small fragments of sculpture were found in clearing out the well. This well is built of large, thick, ancient bricks. Seven feet six inches to the east from the site of the large building there is the site of a circular building, composed of wedge-shaped bricks, which are curved on their outer sides. This circular foundation is about 18 feet in diameter. On the centre of it there were the remains of a small, square, cell-like structutre. I did not at first know what to make of this circular foundation, unless it were the *base* of a stûpa; and, indeed, I at first believed it to have been a small stûpa, attached to *Vihâra*, of which the ruins I excavated are probably the remains. This appeared at first the more probable, as in clearing away the earth from round about this circular base, the lid and a portion of another part of a small steatite box, and also a small circular copper lid, which had evidently belonged to a small tubular copper box, were found; and I thought that these fragments might be the remains of a relic casket, which might possibly have been contained in some small stûpa which might have stood on or near this spot. But on afterwards making a further excavation into the centre of this circular structure, I found that it really contained a small well, which was only 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, and which I cleared out until I came to water. In this small well I found numerous curiosities of various kinds, the principal of which were a number of *terra-cotta* figures of various sizes, with also some fragments of much larger ones, which must have been statues made of burnt clay instead of stone. These *terra-cotta* figures are evidently very ancient, and some of them are very curious. One,

in particular, of a female, of which the head and bust only remain, about one-fifth of life-size, has the face wrinkled into a broad grin, as if laughing heartily. Another is the figure of a man or woman sitting on a high stool, with the feet placed downwards on the ground, just as a European would sit on a chair. This figure wears a kind of coat which reaches down to the knees. The hands rest on the knees, and the right hand holds some object like a bottle, while the left hand holds a cup or bowl. Unfortunately the head of this figure had been broken off, and could not be found. But perhaps the most important of these *terra-cotta* figures is the half of a small figure of *Buddha*, down to the waist, nearly 5 inches in its present height, and which must, therefore, originally have been about 10 or 11 inches in its entire height. The hair is represented as rather longer than in the conventional statues of *Buddha*, but it is also gathered up into the characteristic Buddhistical conical knot on the top of the head. Another, though now much broken and disfigured, had originally been an exceedingly well formed head and face, with part of the shoulders of a female, about one-fifth of life-size, and wearing enormous solid circular ear-rings in the lower lobes of the ear. These earrings are the absolutely exact representations of the large wheel-shaped copper earrings, elsewhere described, which I found in the course of my excavations.[1] I have a strong suspicion that this may be the remains of a statue of *Mâyâ Devi.* I think, more-over, that it is very possible that some, or even many, of the ancient statues at *Kapilavastu* may after all have been made of *terra-cotta*, and not of stone at all!

The site of the large building before described to the west of the well was probably a residence of the Buddhist Monks, as it divided into four chambers. The line of this building lies nearly due east and west; but its remains were over-ridden by a small, narrow, rude structure of much later date, the line of which lay north-west and south-east. This small narrow structure is very roughly built of broken bricks mixed with earth. It appeared to me to have been used as the furnace of a metal worker, as a considerable amount of slag and ashes were found in it, besides a number of small

[1] General Cunningham, however, to whom I showed these circular, rather cylindrical, rolls of copper and silver bands, thinks that they are metal rolls which were inscribed with Buddhist prayers, or religious sentences, used as charms. But if they are so, then all I can say is that the bands of metal were so closely welded together, that all the letters of the inscriptions must have been flattened down and obliterated.

and large crucibles for melting metals which were of a black colour and some of them in a half vitrified state.

To the north of this building there were the remains of two other small buildings, one of an irregular shape, and the other apparently quadrilateral. Under the foundation of the first of these several crucibles were found, amidst fragments of old pottery, and bits of slag and ashes.

In my previous reference to this site, I mentioned that several ancient coins were found in it, during the course of excavation, of which the most important were a nearly blank, square, punch-marked coin of mixed metal, a large copper coin of the Indo-Scythic king *Wemo Kadphises*, a coin bearing the name of a Hindu king "*Purushadata*," and a beautiful square copper coin bearing a number of Buddhist symbols, and which was in as perfect a state as on the day it was coined. This last coin is probably the oldest of the three last. The coin of "*Purushadata*," from the square form of the letters of his name inscribed on the coin, is probably of about the period of *Kanishka*, the successor of *Wemo Kadphises*, or say about B. C. 45. The coin of *Wemo Kadphises* may be dated from any year between B. C. 57 and B. C. 48, as *Wemo Kadphises* commenced his reign, to the north-west of India, about B. C. 57-58, while *Kanishka* commenced his reign about B. C. 48. But as the punch-marked coin is of the greatest antiquity, and the square coin with Buddhist symbols is at least as old as either of the two others, it is evident that the building, among the ruins of which these coins were found, must have been standing as early, at least, as B. C. 50, and was probably founded some time previous to that period.*

Besides the coins and the crucibles and a few defaced fragments of sculpture from the larger well, and the *terra-cotta* figures from the smaller well, various other curiosities were found during the excavation in this mound. The fragments of sculpture from the larger well consisted of the base of a statue with the feet, and the side ornaments with the hands. As one of the hands held a *sankh*, or shell, it is probable that it belonged to a statue of *Vishnu*. These fragments were very much worn and defaced, as the material of the sculpture was a very fragile kind of clayey limestone. Numerous ornamentally carved bricks were also found among the ruins, which shows that the buildings on this spot must have been highly ornamented exteriorly; and as I also found several pointed leaf-shaped battlements or crenula-

tions, called *Kanguras*, composed of the same substance as brick, or *terra-cotta*, it is probable that the building was surmounted by a row of these ornamental projections. Of articles in metal also several were found; of which I may mention a long iron spear-head, 10 inches in length, which had a hollow at one side for fitting it onto a staff; also a fragment of the blade of a sword or dagger; also a long iron rod, an iron chisel, two four-cornered arrow-heads, one of which was $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and several small copper rods with bulb-shaped ends, which may possibly have been used for putting *surma* in the eyes of females. But perhaps the most curious articles in metal were three or four round wheel-shaped masses formed of bands of copper or silver folded or wound concentrically round a centre, just like a roll of tape, and having raised flanges on the outer edges. These I believe to be ancient earrings,[1] which were worn in enormous slits in the long lobes of the ears, in the time of *Buddha*, as we see them represented in sculptures.

I may also here mention that I myself picked up a coin of "*Agni Mitra*" of the Sunga dynasty, on the northern slope of the great "*Dih*," or ruined mound of the citadel, at Bhuila. I do not know the exact date of *Agni Mitra's* reign, but the date of his predecessor, *Pershpamitra*, is set down in Prinsep's Genealogical Tables as B. C. 178.

About 80 feet to the south-east from the mound above described, there is a very small mound, containing the remains of the foundations of a building, which appeared to me to be of an oval or elliptical shape.

5.—The next points to be identified are the sites of several *Vihâras*, or temples or shrines, and monasteries, which are mentioned by Huen Thsang as being situated near the *palace*, by which as, I have shown, we must now understand the citadel.

Huen Thsang first of all mentions a monastery near the palace, which was still occupied by thirty monks and also two Brahmanical temples. But such a meagre notice as this is a great deal too indefinite for their identification. It is likely, however, that they may have been situated immediately to the south side of the citadel mound, as there are the ruined sites of several buildings in that direction.

[1] General Cunningham, however, thinks that these circular copper rolls were charms, containing Buddhist prayers or religous sentences.

Next, Huen Thsang mentions that near the place where *Sakya*, or Buddha, raised and threw the dead elephant, there was a *Vihâra* containing a statue of him, as the *Prince Royal.* I would identify this site with a small oval-shaped mound which is situated on a projecting angle of the northern edge of the southern ditch, to the south-south-east from the citadel, 600 feet to the north-east from the Hathi Kund, and 150 feet to the north-north-east from the isolated conical-shaped earthen mound which, as I stated before, I believed to be the site of the stûpa which marked the spot from which Sakya, or Buddha, threw the elephant.

6.—Huen Thsang further mentions that near the last-mentioned *Vihâra* there was the sleeping chamber of Yasodhara, and that beside the latter there was a *Vihâr* containing a statue of the Prince Royal receiving his lessons, which was built on the site of a hall which was used as his school-room. I have identified this site with another mound which is situated close to and adjoining the north-west side of the last-named mound, which I identified in the preceding paragraph. This mound is about 150 feet in length from east to west, by about 70 feet in breadth from north to south.

7.—Lastly, Huen Thsang mentions that at the south-east angle of the town there was a *Vihâr* containing a statue of the Prince Royal and White Elephant. If Huen Thsang meant the south-east angle of the citadel, then I have got a mound of ruins exactly to suit that interpretation of his description; but if he literally meant the south-east angle of the town, then, as Huen Thsang himself says that the extent of the town, or city, was not known, or could not be made out, it is evident that he could not have known where the "south-east angle of the town" was, any more than I do! I therefore believe that Huen Thsang must really have meant the south-east angle of the citadel. Now, at the distance of only 160 feet from the south-east corner of the citadel there is a large, broad, flat mound, which is full of the ruins of buildings. This mound is about 220 feet in length from west-north-west to east-south-east, by about 170 feet in breadth from north-east to south-west. I therefore believe this to be the site of the *Vihâr*, with statue of the Prince Royal and White Elephant.

Again, at the south-western angle of the mound last above described, there is a small, detached, oblong-shaped site of a ruined building, which the country people absurdly

call the tomb of "*Bhola Shahid*"! But it is no more the tomb of a "*Shahid*" than I am. Or, if it is, then the whole of the ruins are tombs of *Shahids!* For they are all alike, and they are composed of the same kind of large-sized ancient bricks. The small ruined site which the country people call the tomb of *Bhola Shahid*, is evidently simply the site of a small temple, built of ancient Hindu bricks; and, as I before suggested in another place, in the early part of this report, it is probably the site of the *Vihâr* opposite to the southern gate, in which there was the recumbent statue of a corpse, which was one of the "*Four Predictive Signs*." I also previously suggested that this name of *Bhola Shahid* might very probably simply be a modern corruption either of *Bhola Sarir*, meaning "the innocent corpse," or of *Bhola Sadhu* or *Bhola Siddha*, meaning the "*innocent saint;*" and that the name might therefore refer to the statue of the dead man or corpse. This small ruined site is situated about 300 feet to the south-south-east from the southern gate of the citadel, and therefore it would as nearly as possible answer to the position of one of the *Vihâras* of the "*Four Predictive Signs*." At the same time, I may mention that about 120 feet to the west from this there is a large flat mound of ruins, which measured about 200 feet from north-north-east to south-south-west, by about 100 feet from east to west; and this mound is still more exactly opposite to the southern gate. This mound contains an ancient well; and on the centre of it, under a large tree, there are large red, burnt clay, or *terra-cotta* figures of elephants placed, which are dedicated to *Bhawâni*.

The remaining buildings mentioned by Huen Thsang were all situated on the great *dîh* itself, or on the elevated ruined site of what he calls the *palace*, but which I call the citadel; and I shall therefore now proceed to carry my description up on to the top of the great *dîh*, or ruined site of the citadel and palaces.

The first of the buildings mentioned by Huen Thsang as being situated on the site, or within the area, of the *palace*, or citadel, was a *Vihâr* containing a statue of *Suddhodana Raja*. As the position of this building has not been intimated, it is impossible for me to identify it; but as the mention of it immediately precedes that of another building which I believe that I have identified, I expect that the *Vihâr* containing the statue of *Suddhodana* must have been situated on the southern part of the citadel.

At a short distance from the above, but the direction not stated, there was the bedchamber of *Maha-Maya,* the mother of Buddha; and above, or upon it, there was a *Vihâr,* with a statue of the queen. Now, I believe that this very building has been excavated by me. If I am right in my identification, this building is situated exactly about the middle of the southern side of the citadel; at the distance of 880 feet to the south, from the northern end of the citadel, 500 feet to the west-north-west from the south-eastern angle of the citadel, and about 400 feet west from the south-western angle of the citadel. The building is large, and measured about 71 feet from east to west, by the same distance from north to south. But the exterior outline of the building is very irregular, as there are projections and additions every here and there. In the centre of this mass of building there is a very deep chamber, built of very large ancient bricks. This chamber is 26 feet in length interiorly, from east to west, by 15 feet in breadth interiorly at the broadest part; but at the distance of 11 feet from the east end, the chamber suddenly narrows, by a projection inwards, to the decreased breadth of 8 feet. The depth of the chamber, from top to bottom, I found to be 11 feet. This chamber is undoubtedly very ancient, and it is built of very large, long, ancient Hindu bricks, which are very much worn, and one of which measured 1 foot 4 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth, and 2½ inches in thickness. This building had originally a roof more or less perfect; but it was broken through and destroyed, and a portion of the interior excavated, about 25 years ago, or 4 or 5 years before the mutiny, by a man who was searching for treasure, and who is said to have been a Thâru Gosain, from Janakpur. I excavated the interior of the building until I got down to below the foundations, and at length reached a spring of water, which now continues to fill a hole at the bottom.[1] This chamber evidently had a temple of later date built on the top of it; and remains of the walls of this temple are still found on the top of the north-western, western, and south-western edges of the chamber. Now, this exactly agrees with the description given by Huen Thsang, namely,—that on the top of the bed-chamber of Mahâ-Mâyâ there was a *Vihâr* built, which contained a statue of her. At the south-west side of the building there is an ancient well, which was partly filled up with

[1] The bottom of this excavation has, however, since been filled up again by me.

rubbish, and partly choked up by the roots of a large, old pipal tree, which latter I cut down, and cleared out the well.

While excavating this ruin, several curiosities were found, among which were four coins of the *Sunga* dynasty and one ancient square coin, and a fragment of a nickel coin bearing a portion of a legend; also a seal name of some hard composition like lac and burnt clay, and which bore an inscription consisting of three raised letters, which I read as "*Ṣahsa.*" Judging by the style of the letters on this seal, it must be as old as the first century A. D. The reverse of the seal is stamped with a device consisting of a circle containing four dots. From the same excavation I obtained an ancient bronze spring ring, which was slit along its centre for the greater part of its circumference, and which was divided at one side, the two ends of the slit part fitting to the solid end with the greatest nicety;—and also an iron clasp and ring, partly inlaid with gold, which had belonged to the scabbard of a sword. In the ruins of the temple, *on the top*, several fragments of sculpture in stone were found, but which were apparently of brahminical manufacture. Numerous carved bricks were excavated from the debris of this ruin, which showed that there must have been a handsome brick building which was ornamented exteriorly with patterns, of which each carved brick formed a part. In the old well which was excavated, a large squared block of wood was found, one side of which had pegs fastened into it, and which may probably have been an old-fashioned instrument for making cord or rope. Various articles in *terra-cotta* were also found in the ruins, among which were two human heads, one with a very comical face, like that of an old baker, or an old tavern-keeper, with a conical night cap; and the other was a broad, ugly face, with sharp projecting brows and round goggle eyes, and long ears, with large round earrings stuck in them. I also obtained a large round clay seal about an inch and three quarters in diameter, which had a circular lotus flower, or wheel-shaped ornament, concavely stamped on it, and which I believe to have been probably the seal of some monastery. In this excavation, as well as in another, I got the clay figure of a duck, with holes pierced through its sides for wheels to be attached; and numerous round clay wheels were also found, which had probably belonged to toy carts. A small clay figure, probably of Buddha, but without the head and feet, was found in the same excavation; and also a small square platter of stone, about 2¾ inches

each way, with a circular lotus-shaped flower sculptured on one of its surfaces. A number of small clay stems about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with a hole pierced through each end, were found, in one place, in the same excavation; and also a clay weight for a net with a groove on each side; and numerous earthen vessels of various kinds, including peculiar-shaped lamps.

About 50 feet to the west-north-west from the ruins last above described, there is still a large mound of ruins, which runs first westwards and then turns northwards. The part which lies east and west is about 130 feet in length, and the part which lies north and south is about 140 feet in length, with a varying breadth of from 50 to 60 and 70 feet. This appeared to me to have been the site of a large compact portion of the palace, which probably contained the chambers inhabited by the Raja himself and his family.[1] On the centre of the top of the southern portion of this mound of ruins, there are traces of the foundations of a super-imposed building, about 30 feet square. This I believe to be probably the remains either of the *Vihâr* which was built on the spot where *Sakya* (or *Buddha*) is said to have descended into the womb of his mother, or else of the *Vihâr* which contained a statue of *Suddhodana Raja,* both of which Huen Thsang described as being situated on the top of the ruins of the palace, at a short distance from the bedchamber of Mahâ-Mâyâ; and the site which I have just indicated agrees with either of the descriptions given by Huen Thsang. Immediately to the west of this mound of ruins there are three very small conical mounds of brick which look like little stûpa mounds, nearly equidistant from one another, which lie in a line nearly due north and south, or north, half north-north-east, by south half south-south-west.

Again, to the east from the temple which I excavated, and across and to the east side of the hollow or depression which leads to the southern gate, and on the south-eastern portion of the great dîh of the citadel, there is a considerable elevation composed of the ruins of numerous buildings. Here on this spot, which is perhaps one of the highest portions of the elevated plateau of the citadel, there are the distinct traces or the walls of numerous buildings; and it is evident that a great number of the buildings of the palace

[1] This is certainly the case; namely, that it is the site of the "incarnation of Buddha," as the stûpa of Asita is situated to the north-east of it, exactly as described by Huen Thsang.

must have been situated on this spot. It is possible that here may have been the state apartments of *Raja Suddhodana*, and that his statue may also have been here.

The next building noticed by Huen Thsang was a stûpa, where the *Rishi Asita* calculated the horoscope of *Sakya*. This stûpa is stated by Huen Thsang to have been situated to the north-east of the *Vihâr*, where Sâkya descended into the womb of his mother. Now, on the top of the great *dîh* of the citadel, a little to the east of the centre of it, and about 400 feet to the north-north-east half north from the building which I excavated, as the bed-chamber of Mahâ-Mâyâ, there are the remains of a brick stûpa, which at present has the appearance of an inverted saucer. This stûpa is now only about 6 feet in height, and it has a present diamater of about 60 feet. It appears to me to have been built interiorly of successively decreasing squares, placed diagonally one on the top of the other; and the comers between the points of those diagonally-placed squares were afterwards filled up with bricks, and thus formed a round-sided and round-topped stûpa which was probably originally a hemisphere. When I first came to Bhuila, this remnant of a stûpa was very much covered with earth, and overgrown with bushes and shrubs and grass. I therefore made a slight excavation on its surface and around it, and cleared it of all extraneous matter, and left the bare brick structure standing. In the course of this clearing excavation, I obtained two coins, one of Saya, or *Satya Mitra*, and one much-worn square coin, which had the traces of the figure of a bull, and some Buddhist symbol.[1]

Towards part of the eastern side, and along the whole southern side, of this stûpa, and continuing thence for some distance further west, there is a hollow in the ground, which is evidently the remains of a ditch; and some of the oldest inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Jaitapur informed me that if I dug into this hollow I would come upon a solid bottom of mortar, or cement, and bricks.

About 400 feet distant to the west, from the stûpa above described, there is a high round-topped mound of brick ruins, which may possibly have been another stûpa.

Huen Thsang next mentions that, inside the east gate of the town (read "citadel"), to the left of the road,

[1] I afterwards made an excavation downwards into the interior of this stûpa, about its centre, and I found that it was composed of solid brick masonry, and that it had been simply a solid stûpa built upon the top of two or three square bases.

there was another stûpa. Now, when standing on the eastern part of the great dîh of the citadel, with one's face turned towards the east, to the left side of one of the depressions which formed the eastern gateway, one sees a large round-topped mound of brick, which may very probably be the remains of the stûpa noticed by Huen Thsang.

Lastly, Huen Thsang states that outside the east gate of the town (read "citadel") there was a temple of "*Iswara-Deva*," containing a statue of him. Now, immediately outside of the centre of the eastern gate, but on the slope of the side of the great *dîh*, or citadel, there are the traces of the foundations of a small building, on which the temple referred to by Huen Thsang may perhaps have stood. But Huen Thsang forgot to note one thing, and that is, that the eastern gate of the citadel was double. For on the eastern side of the great dîh there are two hollows or depressions, with an eminence, consisting of a round-topped mound of brick ruins, rising between them; which latter must have been the site of some large building.

On the northern part of the dîh of the citadel, and near the northern gate, there is a round-topped mound of ruins, with a very large pipal tree growing on the top of it.

Of coins found on the dîh there was one coin of Agni Mitra of the Sunga dynasty, two defaced Indo-Scythic coins, and one thin square coin very much defaced, which bore the faint traces of the Buddhist symbol of *Dharma*.

I will now proceed to give an account of various places in the neighbourhood of, or at some distance from, *Bhuila*, which I have identified with the various sacred sites near *Kapilavastu*, or in the neighbouring country belonging to the Sakyas, which were visited by the two Chinese travellers, Huen Thsang and Fa-Hian. (I believe the correct Chinese orthography of the name of the former is "Hio-wen Thsang;" but in the present report, for the sake of brevity, I have generally spelt it "*Huen*.")

17.—SITE OF MASSACARE OF SAKYAS.

Huen Thsang mentions that at some distance to the northwest of *Kapilavastu*, there were *stûpas*, in hundreds and thousands, which marked the spot where a number of *Sakyas* were massacred, in an attack made upon *Kapilavastu* by *Viudhaka*, Raja of Sravasti, after he had dethroned his father

Prasenâjit, who had been a friend (as well as a kinsman) of the family of Sâkya, or Buddha.

Unfortunately the distance at which these stûpas were situated from the city, or the place of *Kapilavastu*, was not stated by Huen Thsang; and therefore it is impossible to tell whether it was 1 mile or 10 miles. I have, however, explored the country for a distance of 8 miles to the north-west from *Bhuila* and the only remains of any number of stûpas that I have been able to find, is at a site called "*Bhatâ*," or "*Kosahra*," about a mile and a half to the north-west from *Bhuila dîh*, and about half a mile to the north-west of an old village called "*Sarnagi.*" Here there is a high piece of ground, which is full of bricks and covered by a grove of trees, and which is called "*Bhatâ*," which in Hindi means *unfortunate* or *calamitous*, or *accursed;* but I suspect that it may perhaps be a corruption of the Sanskrit "*Badhâ*," which means "*slaughtered*," or "*massacred.*" This brick-covered extent of ground is about 850 feet in length, from south-east to north-west, with a varying breadth of from 500 to 300 feet. It is simply a mass of bricks, composed of the ruins of a number of small stûpas. I counted the scattered remains or traces of about thirty small stûpas altogether. The majority of these have the appearance of flattened-down cairns, or tumuli, of brick; but some are in the shape of large inverted saucers, representing about one-fourth of a sphere. Of these, all, except one, are utterly ruined; and the quantities of bricks which lie scattered around them in every direction show that they are the mere razed and levelled wrecks of former stûpas. The majority of them are indeed, in their present state, little better than mere debris, or traces, which serve to indicate the sites and respective circumferences of former stûpas; and that is all. But they are, nevertheless, quite clearly, and beyond all doubt, the veritable remains of an assemblage of small stûpas of an ancient type, which were raised over the corpses of men who would appear to have been massacred *en masse* on the spot. There is, however, one of these stûpas which is (or was, when I last saw it) still in a nearly perfect condition and of a considerable height, and which owes its preservation to the fact of its having attracted the superstitious fancy of the neighbouring villagers, as a fitting "high place" for the "worship" of their demoniacal tutelary divinity, "*Devi*," or *Bhawani*. This stûpa is high and conical. It is nearly a perfect cone. Its perpendicular height may

be about 8 feet above the surface of the great mound of debris on which it stands, but its top cannot be less than about 15 feet above the surrounding fields. But this stûpa is so covered and over-shaded by a dense clump of trees which are growing upon it, that it is difficult to ascertain its height. Upon the very top of it the people have placed a collection of enormous figures of elephants made of red clay.

It is impossible to tell how many stûpas there were originally, but the surrounding fields are full of bricks, and the cultivators have collected the bricks in heaps at the edges of the fields. I have, however, ascertained the fact that there were formerly an immense number more of similar small ruined stûpas round about in the same locality, but which have been destroyed, in order to clear the ground for cultivation. The fact is that this locality, less than twenty years ago, was thickly covered with jangal, or rather forest; and that it was first cleared and brought under cultivation by Mr. Cooke, the great landowner. It must, therefore, have been Mr. Cooke's people, or tenants, who destroyed the rest of the small stûpas which were scattered here and there over a wide extent of ground, where fields now are, the soil of which, as I said before, is full of bricks.

From all that has been said above, it will appear quite possible that there may have been many hundreds of small stûpas in this locality, to the north and west of the site called "*Bhatâ.*"

I may also here mention that the ground slopes up from all sides towards *Bhatâ*, which is thus a sort of culminating point. I therefore believe, both from personal observation, and as the result of enquiry, that *Bhatâ* must have anciently been an inhabited site; and that it was probably in reality the north-western suburb or continuation of the city of *Kapilavastu;* and there can be no doubt that *Bhatâ* actually lies on the ancient line of road which led from *Kapilvastu* to *Sravasti.*

"*Bhatâ*" is equally commonly called "*Kosahra,*" although the latter name properly belongs to a small lake, on the north-eastern bank of which Bhatâ is situated. This small lake at Bhatâ, which is called the *Kosahra Tal,* is very narrow across from east to west, but very long from north to south; and I believe it to have been a portion of the bed of an ancient river, which probably formed the north-western boundary of *Kapilavastu*, and in defending

the passage of which the Sakyas probably fell. It may have been an old bed of the Rawai River, or of its tributaries or feeders.

Now, the name of this small lake, "*Kesahra*," has a significant meaning, like that of "Bhatâ;" for "*Rosahra*," in Hindi, means "the accursed pod." In like manner, as I previously explained, "*Bhatâ*" means unfortunate, calamitous, accursed. It is therefore evident that these two names refer most pointedly to the "massacre of the Sakyas."

Huen Thsang mentions that there were four more stûpas to the south-west from the place where the Sakyas were massacred, but he does not give the distance. I have not been able to find any four stûpas together to the south-west of *Bhatâ*, or *Osahra;* but about half a mile to the south-west, near the village of "*Pura*," I found a small round-topped, hemispherical earthen mound, which may be a stûpa. At any rate, I ascertained that this mound was so ancient that no one knew anything about its origin. To the north-east of it there is a small embanked enclosure, with a bastion at each of the four corners, and surrounded by a ditch which is said to be the modern work of a Thakur. Again, about a quarter of a mile further to the south-south-west, near the village of "Saladipur," there is a mound, on the top of which a single tree is growing. This mound appears to be full of fragments of brick and pottery, and slag.

About a mile and a quarter to the east from "*Saladipur*" there is a small village called "*Jalalabad*," and a very short distance to the west of this last-named village there is a "*dîh*," or broad mound of ruins, but no traces of any stûpa.

18.—SITE WHERE SHADOW OF TREE STOOD STILL.

In the translation of the Travels of Huen Thsang by M. Stanislas Julien, it is stated that "at the distance of 40 li to the north-east from the city (of *Kapilavastu*) there is a stûpa. It was in this place that the Prince Royal, being seated under the shade of a tree, watched the labourers in the field. The sun launched forth its latter rays, and meanwhile the shadow (of the tree) did not change its place."

Now, at one-fifth of a mile to the li, 40 li would be exactly 8 miles; while at one sixth of a mile to the li,

40 li would be nearly equal to 6½ miles. I prefer to select the latter estimate of 6½ miles. At this distance to the north-east from Bhuila, there are two places named "*Suno-deeh*" (*San-dih*) and "*Bidooah*" (*Bidua*); but at neither of these places have I been able to find any stûpa. But we must not judge of travelled distances, or road distances, as the crow flies; and a distance of 6 or 7 miles, travelled to a place without roads, and through among rice-fields, would very likely be not more than 4 or 5 miles of direct distance, if measured with the compasses on a map. But even at this latter diminished distance I have not been able to find any stûpa to the north-east.

At the distance of 2½ miles to the north-east from *Bhuila Dîh*, however, there is a place the name of which is written "*Seekuree*" in the maps, but the real name of which is "*Sikhari*." To the east side of the village there is a small lake, and to the south side of the village there is a large *khera*, or dîh, old mound of ruins, which is full of ancient bricks; and on this ruined site there are the remains of a small stûpa, and close to the north-west side of the ruined remains of the stûpa there is a large and very ancient bur tree, and a large *pipal* tree. I therefore believe this to be the spot where *Buddha* sat to watch the labourers in the field. And it is worthy of remark that, as I stood between the ruins of the small stûpa and the great bur tree, I found that I had an uninterrupted view over an immense extent of bare fields, and I could have seen labourers at work at the distance of half a mile.

This place "*Sikhari*" is evidently an exceedingly ancient site, and of equal antiquity with the great *Dîh* of *Bhuila*. From the name of the place, "*Sikhari*," or "*Sikhiri*," could it possibly have been the birthplace of "*Sikhi Buddha*," the second of the seven *Buddhas*?

I may, however, mention that about 6 miles to the east-north-east from Bhuila, close to the Kuâno River, and about a mile to the south-east of Mansurnagar, there is a village called "*Siwaijot*," and near this there is said to be a *dîh*, or mound of ruins, and to the east side of the *dîh* there is said to be the remains of a small stûpa.

Again, at a village called "*Bèlua*," and about a mile to the west of *Siwa ijot*, there are two small mounds.

There is, however, also a well-marked mound of ruins at the village of *Gaur*, about 6½ miles to the east-north-east from Bhuila.

19.—BIRTHPLACE OF KRAKUCHANDA.

"*Krakuchanda,*" or "*Karkut Chanda,*" was the fourth of the seven *Buddhas.* He was born at a place in "*Uttara Kosala,*" the name of which is given by the Chinese traveller Fa-Hian as "*Na-pi-ka,*" or "*Na-pi-kia*;" which General Cunningham has suggested may possibly be a Chinese equivalent for a *Sanskrit* "*Navika*;" but I would rather suggest "*Navhika,*" meaning central.

In certain Buddhist chronicles ("*Sapta Buddha Stotra*"), however, quoted by General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India from Remusat's "*Fo-kwe-ki,*" the native city of *Krakuchanda* is called "*Kshemavati,*" or "*Khemavati.*" But I think I shall be able to show that this was quite a separate and distinct place, though only a little further off, in the same part of the country; and that it was the capital of *Raja Kshema* of Mekhala, but not the birthplace of *Krakuchanda.* The Buddhist books of Ceylon (as quoted by General Cunningham, from "Hardy's Manual of Buddhism") simply state that *Krakuchanda* was the "*purohit,*" or family priest, of *Raja Kshema* of *Mekhala*; but they do not appear to say anything whatever about *Krakuchanda* being born in the capital city of *Raja Kshema.* I think, therefore, it will be found that I am correct in my opinion that the "*Napika,*" or "*Napikia,*" of Fa-Hian, was a totally distinct place from *Kshemavati.*

But the worst, or most puzzling, feature of the case is, that the two Chinese travellers differ diametrically in their statements as to the position of the town in which *Krakuchanda* was born. They do not differ much as to the distance; but they differ entirely as to the direction, or the points of the compass. Moreover, in one instance, even the translators differ in the rendering of their translations.

According to the translation of the travels of Huen. Thsang by M. Stanislas Julien, the birthplace of *Krakuchanda,* was situated 50 *li*, or 8⅓ miles, to the south from *Kapilavastu*, which by-the-bye would place it wrongly near the "*Sara-kupa,*" or "*arrow fountain,*" and totally out of the way of the route by which both of the Chinese travellers came from *Sravasti* to *Kapilavastu*?

According to the account of Fa-Hian, the birthplace of *Krakuchanda* was about one *yojana*, or 7 miles, distant, in a westerly direction, from *Kapilavastu.* But one translator,

the Rev. S. Beal, makes the direction south-west; while another translator, Remusat, makes the direction north-west. The following is *Beal's* translation of the passage in question:

"Leaving *Sravasti* at 12 *yojans* to south-east reach—
Na-pi-kia, birthplace of *Krakuchanda*. Going north from this place, one *yojan*, reach town where *Kanaka Muni* was born. From this spot going east, less than one *yojan*, arrive at *Kapilavastu*."

Remusat's translation of the same passage has been rendered by Laidlay as follows:—

"From *Saravasti*, south-east, reach *Na-pi-ka*, birthplace of *Krakuchanda*, less than one *yojan* to south, birthplace of *Kanaka Muni*, thence one *yojan* to east reach *Kapilavastu*."

Now it will be seen, from a comparison of the two foregoing quotations, that this discrepancy between the two translators makes a difference of about 16 miles, north and south, for the position of the birthplace of *Krakuchanda*. For *Beal's* translation places it one *yojan* (or about 8 miles) to the south of the birthplace of *Kanaka Muni*, while *Remusat's* translation places the birthplace of *Krakuchunda* less than one *yojana* to the north of that of *Kanaka Muni*.

The result of my own personal explorations on the spot would tend to show that *Remusata's* translation of the passage was the correct one; and that the birthplace of *Krakuchanda* was really situated about 5¼ miles to the north of that of *Kanaka Muni*, and about 7½ miles to the north-west from *Bhuila*, which I have identified as *Kapilavastu*.

I beg to refer to the Indian Atlas Quarter Sheet No. 87, on the line of 82 degrees 30 minutes longitude, by 26 degrees 58 minutes and 15 seconds latitude, 7½ miles to the north-west from *Bhuila Tal*, and about three-quarters of a mile to the south of a village called "*Beerpur*" (in the maps), where there is a *Thana*, and about one mile to the west-north-west of a village called "*Charo*:" as nearly as possible on the spot thus indicated, there is an old village called "*Nagra*."

This village of "Nagra" is situated on the eastern end of a very large and pretty high mound of ruins, which is the site of an ancient city. On the southern part of this great mound there are the ruined remains of a demolished brick stûpa, which, when I saw it, still preserved its circular outline, but there was nothing but the base of it left. I believe this to be the remains of the stûpa mentioned by Huen Thsang, which marked the spot where *Krakuchauda* was born, or where his father lived.

The *dih*, or great mound of ruins, which was the site of the brick-built portion of the ancient town, measured about 800 feet in length from east to west, by about 600 feet, and upwards, from north to south. The small village of *Nagra* is situated on the east-north-eastern end of the *dih*, or great mound.[1] Close to the north side of the village there is a pond, or very small lake, from the eastern end of which a channel runs, which communicates with the *Charu* Lake, which lies about two-thirds of a mile to the westwards. On the north-western corner of the *dih*, or great mound, there is also a small village, consisting of a few houses. On the southern part of the great mound, and only 50 feet within its southern edge, there are the remains of the base of a stûpa, which appears to have been about 40 or 45 feet in diameter. This I believe to be the site of the stûpa which marked the spot where the father of *Krakuchanda* lived.

About 1,100 feet to the west from the *dih*, or great mound of the old town, there is an irregular-shaped tank or small pond; and on the western side of the latter there is a somewhat low or flattish mound, which is strewed with fragments of brick and pottery. This mound measured about 55 feet in length from north to south, by about 40 feet from east to west.

Again, about 2,200 feet to the south from the *dih* there is a large square tank, and on the eastern edge of the tank there is a high mound of earth; and on a small square platform on the top of this mound there are large red-clay figures of elephants placed. This is called "*Sameka Than*" by the villagers. This tank, however, is said to be only about a hundred and fifty years old.

Lastly, about 800 feet to the east-south-east from the great mound of ruins, or *dih*, of *Nagra*, there is a very fine large brick stûpa, which was still in a very perfect condition when I saw it, and probably about 20 feet in height including the base or platform on which it stands. The actual perpendicular height of the stûpa, when last seen, was about 15 feet; and the height of the sort of brick platform on which it stands was nearly 5 feet. The diameter of the stûpa at base was about 50 feet. It had even still some of the smooth outer casing on its western side; but the eastern side of the stûpa had been dug into, here and there, for bricks. This stûpa had very much the shape of the third of an egg in-

[1] See Plate XII for a map of this site.

verted, or like the semiconical-domed outline of a helmet. There were a number of tall date-palm, or "*Khajur*," trees, growing on the top of the stûpa. A raised platform of brick extended out to the distance of about 40 feet from the southern side of the base of the stûpa; and on this there was a small, but distinct, square foundation of brick, with a hollow in the centre of it, which had probably been the socket in which a stone pillar had formerly stood, but which is now gone.

This stûpa stands on the western edge of a square tank; and a short distance to the north-east of the tank there is a small village called "*Khajurapur*."

Now the description which I have given of the position and accompaniments of this stûpa, exactly agrees with the account given by Huen Thsang. For Huen Thsang states that to the south-east of the town where *Krakuchanda* was born, there was a second stûpa of relics, with a stone pillar standing near it, which was surmounted by a lion capital, and on which was inscribed the history of the Nirvana of Krakuchanda. This pillar was about 30 feet high, and it was erected by Asoka. As I have shown, the stûpa is still there in the position indicated; and although the pillar is gone, yet the very spot on which it stood is still distinguishable by a small square of bricks, with a hollow in the centre, which formed the socket of it. As the disturbance of the bricks appeared to me to be comparatively recent, I thought that the removal of the pillar could not have taken place very long ago. But when I questioned the people of the place about it, they pretended ignorance and denied all knowledge of it.

This, however, is the invariable policy of the brutish, ignorant, and evil-disposed natives of this part of the country, who have, moreover, already destroyed some ancient monuments since I have been here, simply because they knew I wanted to preserve them! I have already previously mentioned that, during my stay at Bhuila, a petty zamindar utterly destroyed the stûpa of *Archery* which stood near the village of Jaitapur, simply because he heard that I set value upon it, and that I intended to open it. And the worst of it was, that I had just previously given him a present of three rupees for a stone which was found near the stûpa. If the Government does nothing to prevent it, I will venture to prophesy that, in three years hence, there will not be a single vestige left of the antiquities of *Kàpilavastu!* For immediately the natives have observed that I have shown special attention

towards, or regard for, any particular monument or relic of antiquity, they have immediately commenced to destroy it! Thus, many remains that I have so lately seen with my own eyes, and which are the subject of the present report, may not be in existence, or be looked for in vain, a few months hence!

Huen Thsang also mentions that at a little distance to the south of the town there was another stûpa. I could not find any brick stûpa to the south; but there is a high mound of earth at the east side of a large tank, about a quarter of a mile to the south of the site of the town.

It may, perhaps, appear strange that, while I believe that I have, without doubt, discovered the birthplace of *Krakuchanda*, yet that I have not up to the present time been able to find any trace either of his name, or of that of "*Napikia*," the name of the place in which he was born, as given by Fa-Hian. I thought at one time that I had found a trace of the name of Krakuchanda at least; for in two maps which I have got, one in particular, published in 1861 by "John Walker, Geographer to the Secretary of State for India," there is a village marked down with the name of "Kukoopoor" (Kakupur) 6 miles to the north-west from Bhuila Tal, and only a mile and a half to the south-east from "Nagra," which I have identified as the birthplace of Krakuchanda. But, although I myself went to the exact spot indicated in the map, and also searched everywhere round about it, within a radius of 2 miles, I could not find any village of the name of "*Kukoopoor*" or "Kakupur." It is, therefore, all the more strange and remarkable that only a mile and a half beyond the supposed position of the "*Kukoopoor*" of the map I found the ancient village and mound of ruins of "*Nagra*," with one stûpa still existing, and the remains of another; and these, too, in the very direction, and at the exact distance, indicated in Remusat's Translation of the Travels of Fa-Hian!

There is a village called "Harkhupur" (the "Hurkhoopoor" of the maps) about 3½ miles to the east-south-east, half east from Nagra, and about 4½ miles to the north-north-west from Bhuilatal; but there are no ancient remains there at—least no stûpa—and no considerable traces of ancient inhabitation, and, besides, the distance is far too little, and the direction too northerly.

With regard to the name of "*Napikia*" given by Fa-Hian, I have some suggestions to offer. It is well known that there are many instances in India in which, if the name of some

particular place is one of frequent occurrence, it is coupled with the name of some other neighbouring place, for the sake of distinction. Now about 2 miles to the west of *Nagra*, there is an ancient village called "*Patijia*" (the "*Patijea Boozoorg*" of the maps); and again, about 2 miles to the north-north-west of *Nagra*, there is another village also called "*Patijia*" (the "*Putijea Khoord*" of the maps). And thus the name of "*Nagra*" might be coupled with that of "*Patijia*," for the sake of distinction; and I, therefore, think that "*Nagar-Pitijia*" may have been the origin of the *Na-pi-kia*" of Fa-Hian, which may possibly stand for *Nagr-Pitijia* or (by contraction) *Nar-ipijia!*

At the same time, however, I think it is equally possible that the ancient name of "*Nagra*" may have been *Napit Nagara*, which would mean "barber's town;" and hence it would be an easy change from "Napit" to "Napik."

Lastly, "*Kaku*," in Hindi, means a father; and therefore the Hindi "*Kaku*," father, is equivalent to the Sanskrit "*Pita*," a father; and, consequently, *Nagar Kâku* would be equivalent to *Nagar Pita*, which latter might be the origin of the "*Na-pi-kia*" of Fa-Hian.

20.—KHEMRAJPUR, OR KSHEMAVATI.

In the Buddhist books of Ceylon it is stated that *Krakuchanda Buddha* had been the "Purohit," or family priest, of "*Raja Kshema*" of "*Mekhala*." But in the Buddhist chronicles, "*Sapta Buddha Stotra*," quoted by Remusat in "*Fo-kwe-ki*," and referred to by General Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," the name of the city is called "*Kshemavati*," or "*Khemavati*." I had the good fortune to find the actual site of this ancient city, the capital of *Raja Kshema*.

On a reference to quarter sheet No. 87 of the Indian Atlas, it will be seen that in the northern part of *Pargana Amorha* (District of Basti), at longitude 82 degrees 23 minutes, by latitude 26 degrees 56 minutes, 11 miles to the north-east from the nearest part of the Ghagra River at Ajudhia (or from the Ramghat or Belwa Bazar opposite), and 14 miles to the west-north-west from *Bhuila Tâl*, there is a village marked down with the name of "*Khem-râj-poor*," near the southern end of a lake shaped like the letter "T." This village of "*Khem-râj-pur*" is 8 miles dis-

tant to the west-south-west from "Nagra," which I have identified as the birthplace of *Krakuchanda.*

The present village of "*Khem-râj-pur*" is an old place, and may probably be the remains of a suburb of the ancient city of "*Kshemavati*;" but it is not the actual site of the old city. The main or principal part of the ancient city, or probably the fortified citadel of *Raja Kshema*, was situated between the villages of "*Paer*" and "*Asojpur*," at the eastern end of the lake, a mile and a half to the north-east of the village of *Khem-râj-pur*. Here there is a large mound of ruins, with apparently, also, the remains of a demolished stûpa near it. This I believe to be the site of the citadel and palace of *Râja Kshema;* and I believe that it must have been on this very spot that *Krakuchanda* acted as family priest to *Raja Kshema.*

As *Krakuchanda* was the fourth of seven *Buddhas*, and the third preceding *Sakya Sinha*,—if we allow a lapse of about five hundred years between each *Buddha*,—*Krakuchanda*, and his friend *Raja Kshema*, must have lived some two thousand years before the Christian era! This carries us back to an enormously ancient period of Indian history, and it gives an enormous antiquity to *Buddhism!* This calculation, coupled with the discovery of the actual site of the ancient city of *Kshemavati*, where *Krakuchanda Buddha* walked and talked with *Raja Kshema*, only proves the truth of the opinion which I have always held in opposition to the majority—namely, that Buddhism[1] was much older than the Brahmanical system; and that the Brahmanical system proper never had any existence until after the commencement of the Christian era. The Brahmanical system is simply founded on lies,—on a garbled distortion of history, and upon a falsification of the historical dates and data preserved by the Jains and Buddhists. There is not a single Brahmanical temple, nor a single brahmanical inscription, to be found, so ancient as the *Bhilsa* and *Kapilavastu* stûpas, the really *Buddhist* temple at *Budh Gaya*, or the edicts of *Asoka*, or even the ancient Jain sculptures and inscriptions discovered at *Mathura*. Four, at least, of the "seven Buddhas," have now been proved, beyond doubt, to have actually lived,—namely, *Krakuchanda*, Kanaka Muni, Kâsyapa, and Sakya Sinha!

But, to return again to "*Khem-râj-pur*," the mound of ruins, before mentioned, between the villages of *Pær* and

[1] I mean, of course, ancient or original, Buddhism, and not merely the system as it was modified by Sakya Muni.

Asojpur, are not the only remains of the ancient city of "*Kshemavati;*" for both *Pær* and *Asojpur* are themselves situated on the *débris* of more ancient inhabitation. The fact is, that the ancient city of *Kshemavati*, with its suburbs, probably extended around the whole northern, eastern, and southern sides of the lake.

But, while *Kshemavati* was the capital city of Raja Kshema, we have already seen, from the *Buddhist* records of Ceylon, that the name of his country, or kingdom, was "*Mekhala.*" Now, I believe that I have been able to discover an existing remembrance of this ancient name, preserved in the names of two villages, situated only a short distance to the south of *Khem-râj-pur,* and both of which are called "*Mäghânwan.*"

The *Manora*, or *Manurâma river*, flows to the west and south of *Khem-raj-pur.* Four miles and a half to the south-south-east from *Khem-raj-pur*, and on the north bank of the Manora River, there is a village, the name of which is spelt "*Mughanwan*" in the maps; and, again, 4½ miles nearly due south (or the very least shade west of south) from *Khem-râj-pur* and on the south bank of the Manora River, there is another village, the name of which is spelt "*Mugh-ganwan*" in the maps. These two villages are only 2 miles apart, and they lie east and west from each other. The correct form of the name appears to be either "*Mäghanwa*" or "*Mägh-gaänon*" (for *Mägha-grâma?*). They would appear to be ancient sites, probably of coeval antiquity with *Khem-râj-pur.*

Now, I believe that the names of these two villages are simply a local dialectic Hindi corruption of "*Maghägrâma,*" which would mean the habitation of a people called "*Mäghs;*" and I believe that these "*Mäghs*" were the people of "*Mekhala;*" and that consequently the "*Mekhala*" of the *Buddhist chronicles* of Ceylon was simply a *Pali* corruption of the Sanskrit *Mägh-laya,* which would mean the abode of *Mäghs.*

From the whole of the foregoing exposition, I think it will appear pretty certain that I have discovered both "*Kshemavati*" and "*Mekhala.*"

21.—BIRTHPLACE OF KANAKA MUNI.

According to Fa-Hian, as translated by Remusat, the birthplace of *Kanaka Muni* was situated less than one *yojan*

to the south from the birthplace of *Krakuchanda*, and one *yojan* to the west from *Kapilavastu*. In the Ceylonese *chronicles*, the birthplace of *Kanaka Muni* is named "*Sobhavati-nagara*."

Now, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearly due south from "Nagra," which I have identified as the birthplace of Krakuchanda, there is a village called "*Kanakapur*" (the "*Kunukpoor*" of the maps); and only three-quarters of a mile to the south-south-east from "*Kanakpur*," there is a large ancient mound of ruins, called "*Kopoa*" or "*Khopoa Dih*," or "*Khopawa Dih*," and sometimes "*Khobwa Dih*." This I have identified with "*Sobhavati Nagara*," the birthplace of *Kanaka Muni*, which is confirmed by the name of the neighbouring village, "*Kanakpur*." "*Khopawa*" or *Khobwa*, is evidently a corruption of "*Sobhava*." This ancient site, "*Khopoa Dih*," is situated about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, due south, from "*Nagara*," which I have identified as the birthplace of *Krakuchanda*, and on the same line of 82 degrees 30 minutes longitude, and 6 miles direct due west from *Bhuila*, which I have identified with *Kapilavastu*.

The great mound of ruins, or *dih* of *Khopoa*, is situated on the northern side of a lake, one-half of which lies east and west, and then it turns round, from the east, southward for its remaining half. This lake has an extent of about half a mile from east to west, and a little less from north to south. At the eastern end of the "*dih*," or great mound, there is a very small village, which bears the name of "*Khopoa*;" and about half a mile to the south of the latter there is another village called "*Bidiyapur*;" (the "*Beedeepoor*" of the maps).

Huen Thsang states that there were three stûpas, and a pillar, at the birthplace of *Kanaka Muni*; namely—(1.) A stûpa of relics; and a pillar with a lion capital, 20 feet high, on which was inscribed the history of the *Nirvâna* of *Kanaka Muni*. This stûpa and pillar would appear to have been situated to the northwards of the town. (2.) There was another stûpa to the north-east of the town, which was erected on the spot where *Kanaka Muni* is said to have converted his father. (3.) Apparently either at the centre of the town, or in the town, there was a stûpa which marked the place where *Kanaka Muni* was born.

Sobhavati Nagara is said to have been a large ancient town.

My own explorations have elicited the following results: "*Kopoa Dih*," or the great mound of ruins of *Kopoa*, has an

extent of about 740 feet from north to south, by about 740 feet from east to west. As I before stated, it is situated on the northern bank of a pretty large lake. On the middle of the western half of this great mound of ruins, there is a pretty large and high tumulus of brick, with a large peepul tree growing on the top of it; and this I believe to be the ruined remains of a stûpa. Again, a few feet to the south of this, there is another tumulus of brick, which has a very circular outline, and which, I think, are probably the remains of a stûpa. Either of these two brick tumuli may mark the spot where *Kanaka Muni* was born. Two hundred and twelve feet, nearly due north, from the great *"dih"* of *Kopoa*, there is a mound of brick ruins, which measured about 230 feet in length from east to west, by upwards of 100 feet from north to south. I believe this to be probably the site of the relic stûpa mentioned by Huen Thsang. And about 300 feet to the east of the last-named mound, across a nalla, there is another but much smaller mound, containing bricks, which may, perhaps, be the site of the "pillar," which would appear to have stood near the relic stûpa, as far as I can judge from the indications afforded by Huen Thsang.

About 800 feet to the north-east from the great *"dih,"* or site of the town, and beyond a broad nalla, or water channel, there is a mound of brick ruins, and also a tank to the east side of it. This mound I believe to be the site of the second stûpa to the north-east, mentioned by Huen Thsang. Five hundred feet further on, to the north-east, there is another tank, with a small mound on the further side of it.

The village of *Kopoa* is situated close to, or adjoining, the eastern side of the great *dih*. A nalla, or broad water channel, comes from the north-west, and runs close to the north-east edge of the *dih*, then passes to the north and east of the village of *Kopoa*, and eventually joins the Rawai River, 3 miles to the east from *Kopoa*.

Again, about 700 feet to the south-east from the great *dih*, there is a low mound of brick ruins. This might possibly be the site of a fourth stûpa, or of some *vihara* not mentioned by Huen Thsang.

Lastly, about 600 feet to the west from the *dih* there is a tank, and also a small low, square-shaped mound of brick ruins, on which red-clay figures of elephants are placed, and which is called *"Same Maika Thân."* About a hundred

feet further on to the west, the foundations of some long-shaped brick building are traceable.

It may be of interest here also to mention that the ancient bricks found at *Kopoa Dih* are of very large size. One of them measured 1 foot 8 inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth and 2½ inches in thickness.

22.—SARA-KUPA, OR "ARROW-WELL."

I have previously referred to the Buddhist tradition that *Prince Siddhârtha,* or *Sâkya*, contended with the other Sâkyas in *archery*, &c.; and that from a spot at the south of the town of *Kapilavastu,*, he shot an *arrow* from a bow, which fell at a spot which Huen Thsang places at the distance of 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to the south-east; while Fa-Hian places it at the same distance to the south-west. A stûpa was erected on the spot from which the Prince shot the arrow; and another stûpa was erected on the spot where the arrow is said to have fallen; and as a spring of water is said to have gushed out where the arrow struck the ground, it was called the "*Sara-kupa*," or "*Arrow Well.*"

I have already identified the stûpa of archery, marking the spot from which the arrow was shot, with a large stûpa which stood on the western bank of the Bhuila Lake, and between it and the village of Jaitapur, about 2,050 feet to the south-east from the great *dih* of the citadel of Bhuila; but this stûpa was nearly totally destroyed by a zamindar while I was at Bhuila. It would appear that the distance of *Sara-kupa* was calculated from this stûpa.

Now, at the distance stated of 30 *li*, or 5 miles, to the south-west, there is an old village called "*Puraina*," and to the south of that there is a small lake, and at the east end of the lake there is a place called "*Bhiti*," which is situate close to the north of a village called "*Kanraki-pur*" ("the Kundrukpoor" of the maps), and to the south of a village marked as "*Bhence Misser*" in the maps. At *Bhiti* there is a small mound of ruins; and to the west of *Bhiti*, and north of *Kanrakpur*, there is a curious hole in the ground.

Again, if we try a south-easterly direction, at 5 miles to the south-east from *Bhuila dih*, there is a village called "*Gursara*," the "*Goorsura*" of the maps; but there is no trace of any stûpa, or any mound of ruins, at this place. There is, however, a small *dih*, or small mound of ruins,

about a mile and a half to the south of it, and not far from two villages, one of which is called "*Abhuipur*" the "*Ubaiepur*" of the maps), and the other "*Bhitia*," which lie about a mile apart, north and south of one another.

But neither of the places indicated, neither that to the south-east, nor that to the south-west, appeared to me in any way to answer to the "*Sara-kupa*," with its stûpa.

I believe, however, that I have found the real *Sara-kupa*, and the remains of its stûpa, at a place called "*Sarkuhiya* (the "Surkhoeea" of the maps), about 4½ miles to the south-south-east from *Bhuila-dih*, and 4⅛ miles nearly due south from the "Stûpa of Archery." This, however, is only the direct distance as measured on the map; but in travelling distance, or in walking, it is really fully 5 miles. Therefore, both in its name and in its distance, and as nearly as possible in its position, "*Sarkuhiya*" corresponds to the "*Sarakupa*." I shall now be able to show that it also corresponds in every other particular.

"*Sarkuhiya*" is situated about half a mile from the right or west bank of the *Rawai River*, and about half a mile to the north-west of a large village called "*Ratanpur*" (the "*Ruttonpoor*" of the maps). Between *Sarkuhiya* and the *Rawai River* there is an old tank; and from the north-east side of the tank, a nalla, or water channel, runs into the *Rawai*. To the south of the nulla, and on the east side of the old tank, there are two moderate sized tumuli of brick ruins, which lie north and south of one another. The northern one is a bare tumulus of brick, with a stone lingam on the top of it; and I believe this to be the remains of a stûpa, which marked the spot where the arrow of *Prince Siddhârtha* (*Buddha*) struck the ground; and I believe the old tank, with the nalla running out of it, to represent the spring (or fountain of water, which is said to have broken forth at the stroke of the arrow. There is an old well in the village of *Sarkuhiya*, but I do not think that it can be what is referred to.

The other more southerly tumulus, of broken bricks (which is near the former), is surmounted by a stone lingam; and it has a banian tree growing on the top of it.

I think it will appear, from what I have said on this subject, that it is pretty certain that *Sar-kuhiya* actually represents the "*Sarakupa*;" for *Sar-kuhiya* would be the regular modern provincial dialectic equivalent for the Sanskrit *Sara-kupa*.

23.—RIVER OF OIL AND LUMBINI GARDEN.

Before attempting to indicate the position of the "*Lumbini Garden,*" it will be necessary, first, to identify a small river, or stream, called the "*River of Oil,*" on the banks of which the *Lumbini Garden* is said to have been situated.

On looking at quarter sheet No. 87, N.E., of the Indian Atlas, it will be seen that about 8 miles to the west-north-west from the town of Basti there is a large village called "*Hardi.*" Again, about 3 miles due north from *Hardi*, there is a pretty large village marked as "*Shewpoor,*" in the maps, but the correct name of which would be "*Shiv-pura.*" About three-quarters of a mile to the south of Shewpur there is a narrow, long-shaped lake, or jheel, called the "*Tînchhwa Tâl,*" which lies in a north-west by south-easterly position. From the south-east end of this lake, a small stream or water-course issues, which is called the "*Gädi Nala,*" (which means 'the turbid stream'); but this stream in reality only passes through the lake, or the lake is a mere enlargement of it, as it rises from a source further west, namely, from the Chapartalla Tâl, near two other lakes, one called the Bûrhapâra Tâl, and the other the "*Aila Tâl.*" This "*Gädi Nala*" runs due southwards, until it reaches *Hardi*, where it becomes the "*Majhora River,*" which latter, a mile below Hardi, turns eastwards, flowing to the north of Ganeshpur, and finally joins the *Kuâno* or *Kuâni* River, opposite to a place marked as "*Doorkha*" in the maps. Our Indian mappists, or geographers, have made a confusion between the *Majhora* (wrongly spelt "*Mutchora*" in the maps) and the *Rawai* rivers. But the *Rawai* river really runs to the south of *Ganeshpur*, and joins the *Kuâno* river 2½ miles below the junction of the *Majhora!* The *Majhora* is quite distinct from the *Rawai;* although, when it overflows during the rains, the Majhora sometimes breaks through in a south-westerly direction, past a place called "*Kalra Buzurg,*" and thus makes a temporary cross junction with the *Rawai.* The *Majhora* river really rises partly from the "*Aila Tâl,*" and partly from the second *Chapartalla Tâl,* 3 miles to the north-west of "Hardi;" and during heavy floods in the rainy season the *Aghea Tal,* which is a feeder of, and lies close to, the west of the *Bhuila Tal,* becomes connected with the *Pindari Tâl,* or the jheel which lies close to the west of *Pindari Dih,* and the water from which latter runs into a small lake or pond called "Chota *Chapartalla,*" and which I have distinguished by the name

of the first *Chapartalla Tâl*, as there is another lake of the same name. From this the water runs partly into the second *Chapartalla Tâl*, but mostly into the *Aila Tâl*. From the *Aila Tâl* the water runs east-north-eastwards into the *Bua Tâl*, and from thence a nalla, or water channel, runs north-eastwards into the *Tinchhwa*, or *Tilchuan Tâl*, or *Gadi Nalla*, which runs southwards to *Hardi*, where it becomes the *Majhora River*.

Now I have identified the *Majhora river*, and the *Gädi* and *Dhabrâwa Nala*, together along with their feeders, the *Bua Nala*, and the *Bairahwa Nala*, with the "*River of Oil*" of the Buddhist traditions. The name of the "*Majhora*" *river* may also be spelt *Majhâwara;* and I believe this to be a corruption of the Sanskrit "*Mrakshâ-vari*," meaning "oily water," or of the Sanskrit "*Mranshâ-varan*," meaning "of an oily colour:" as this would in time, in the local dialect, most certainly become corrupted to "*Machhâ-wara*," from which would naturally arise the present vulgar pronunciation of "*Majhawara*," or "Majhora." But I have also ascertained, by careful personal exploration, that the *Dochuan Nala*, the "*Gärdi Nala*," and the *Majhora*, which name it assumes at *Hardi*, are all three together simply the remains of an ancient bed of the *Rawai*, or "*Rohwai*," which must originally have flown through the *Bhuila Tâl*. And we thus see why and how it was that *Kapilavastu* was said to be situated on or near the *Rohini river*. I believe, therefore, that when the old *Rawai*, or *Rohwai*, flowed in this direction, it was called the "*Rohini;*" and that the modern name of the modern river called the "*Rawai*," "*Rowai*" or "*Rohwai*," is simply a corruption or contraction of "*Rohini*," which was originally applied to the ancient and now forsaken bed of the river. Indeed, some of the villagers still call the river "*Rohwaini*." The change in the upper course of the *Rawai* was evidently partly caused by numerous *bandhs* or dams, which were from time to time thrown across the upper or north-western part of the course of the river, in several places to the west of Bhuila, several of which still exist, and which eventually diverted it from a south-eastern into a southern direction.

But when the main channel of the Rohini became finally entirely diverted from its original south-eastern course, and only a small turbid, brown-coloured, oily-looking stream, remained in its ancient bed, it was then, no doubt, that it got the names of the "*Gädi*," and "*Dhabrâwa*," meaning "turbid," and "*Mrakshâ-vari*," or Mraksho-varan, meaning an "oily-

looking stream," the "River of Oil," of the Buddhist chronicles. For Huen Thsang states that a small stream flowed in a south-easterly direction, either past or near the Lumbini Garden; and that this stream was afterwards called the "River of Oil." Now it will be seen that the *Gadi Nala* flows in a south-easterly direction, immediately to the south of *Shewpur*, and that it only afterwards takes a turn southwards, towards *Hardi* (the *Hurdee* of the maps). And, in like manner, the general course of the *Majhora river*, from *Hardi* to its junction with the *Kuano*, or *Kuani river* is in a south-easterly direction.

But from the Buddhist chronicles it would appear that the *Rohini river* flowed to the east of *Kapilavastu*, and between it and the town of *Koli*, or *Vyâghrapura*, the birthplace of *Mâyâ Devi;* and that the Lumbini Garden was also in the same position, between the two cities, about 8 miles to the east from *Kapilavastu*. And it is also said that the inhabitants of *Kapilavastu* and *Koli* quarrelled about the distribution of the waters of the *Rohini river*, for the respective rice-fields. It is evident, therefore, that the *Rohini river* cannot have been far from, but was probably pretty near to, the city of Kapilavastu; and that it consequently probably flowed in the very direction of the present "*Dochûan Nala*" and of the "*Gadi Nala*" below Shewpur.

Lastly, it is stated that an "embankment" was thrown across the *Rohini river*, which enabled the people of both *Kapilavastu* and *Koli* to obtain a supply of water for their rice-fields. Now 2 miles to the west-half-west-south-west from *Shewpur*, and 3½ miles to the east-half east-south-east from the east bank of the great lake of *Bhuila Tal*, there is a village called "*Burhapâra*," which is wrongly spelt "*Boorhapoor*" in the maps. This village is situated about 1,000 feet east-south-eastwards from the eastern end of a long norrow, marshy lake, into the western end of which the *Dochuan Nala* runs, which comes from the *Bhuila Tâl*. In fact, what is called the *Burhapâra Tâl*, or rather the narrow, long-shaped, marshy jheel near *Burhapâra*, is simply a widening of the *Dôchuâṅ Nala*, caused by a dam. For there is an ancient *bândh*, or dam, or embankment, about 700 feet in length, which runs right across this enlargement of the *Dôchuâṅ Nala*, which goes by the name of the *Burhapâra Tâl*. Here, then, apparently we have the veritable dam, or embankment, which the Buddhist chronicles tell us was thrown across the *Rohini river* in ancient times. But

this small watercourse has two branches, one of which runs to the north-east, and the other to the south; and the *bândh*, or dam, is just exactly upon the spot at or from which these two branches diverge.

In order to explain this properly, however, I shall have now to describe the old course of this now small watercourse, but originally ancient bed of the *Rohini*, from its very source.

To the west of *Bhuila*, an old bed of the *Rawai*, or *Rohwai river*, comes from the west-north-west, and runs into a large, shallow, marshy lake, called the *Aghea Tâl*, which lies close to the west of *Bhuila*, near the village of *Aghea*, which latter village is situated about 3,600 feet to the south-west from *Bhuila Dih*.

I have already pointed out that from the southern end of the *Aghea Tâl*, during the rains, the surplus water finds its way in a south-easterly direction into the *Pindâri Tâl*, or the jheel which lies to the west of *Pindâri Dih;* and that from thence it runs eastwards into the *Aila Tâl*, from which a nalla, or channel, runs east-north-eastwards into the *Bua Tâl;* and that a nalla runs from the *Bua Tâl* north-eastwards into the *Tilchhwa Tâl*, from which the *Gädi Nala* issues, which runs southwards to *Hardi*, where it becomes the *Majhora river*.

But to start again with the *Aghea Tâl*. From the south-eastern corner of the *Aghea Tâl*, a shallow channel runs round eastwards and northwards into the small *Naka Tâl*, which lies close to the south-south-west corner of *Bhuila Dih*. From the *Naka Tâl*, a nalla, or water channel, runs eastwards into the great lake of *Bhuila*. From the eastern end of the great lake of *Bhuila*, a channel, called the *Dôchuân Nala*, issues, and runs thence eastwards. At a short distance to the east from the *Bhuila Tâl*, and to the south of *Ranipur Dih*, this nalla, or channel, divides into two branches. Of these, one channel runs close to the north of *Tendua Bazar*, and from thence to the south of *Karma*. The other branch runs close to *Prâs Dih* and to the south of *Chaksôhi*. About half a mile to the east of *Karma*, and about a mile and a quarter to the west of *Burhapâr*, the two channels again unite into one and form a single river bed of considerable size.[1] To the south of *Kesarai* the channel begins to widen

[1] This union, or amalgamation, into one well-marked channel, takes place at the eastern end of a somewhat flattish mound called *Kâpari* or *Kapuli*, or *Kapili Dih*.

out, and becomes a sort of long, narrow lake bed, or jheel, of irregular breadth; but narrow across from north to south, and long from east to west. About 1,000 feet to the west of *Burhapar Dih*, this widening of the channel is crossed by a *bândh*, or dam, which is about 700 feet in length; of which about 600 feet runs nearly north and south, and about 100 feet of it turns south-westwards. This *bândh*, or dam, is from 30 to 45 feet in breadth at its broadest part, and from 10 to 15 feet in breadth at its narrowest part.

This dam, or embankment, I consider to be the one referred to in the Buddhist chronicles, which is said to have been constructed across the *Rohini river*, between *Kapilavastu* and *Vyâghrapura*, and by which the water required for irrigational purposes was retained for distribution among the fields of the people of *Kapilavastu* and *Vyâghrapura*, or Koli, respectively. And it must have been at this very embankment that the people of the two cities came to quarrel about their respective rights to the use of the water, when *Sakya Muni* arrived on the spot and settled the matter amicably

But the construction of a dam across the river bed caused a change, or divergence, in its course; and it caused it to divide, or split, into two separate off-sets or branches. One of these two channels runs from the dam in a north-easterly direction; and, after a course of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles it falls into the *Kuâno river*, about 2 miles to the south-east of *Mansurnagar*. The other branch originally ran south-eastwards (or, first, a short distance southwards, and then eastwards) into the small *Baherâwa Tâl*. This is, however, now met half-way by another nalla which has been cut northwards from the *Chapartalla Tâl*, close past the east side of *Hardiya Dih;* so that contrary currents meet half-way in this amalgamated channel,—one current coming southwards, from the *Dôchuan Nâla* at the north end, and the other current coming northwards, from the *Chapartalla Tâl*, at the south end. From the *Chapartalla Tâl* a channel runs north-north-eastwards into the small *Bairâhwa*, or *Baheriwa*, or *Baherâwa Tâl*, which is only about 300 feet in length from east to west, by about 250 feet from north to south. But both the *Chapartalla Tâl* and the *Baheriwa Tâl* become quite dry during the hot season. The *Chapartalla Tâl* lies close on the south of *Hardiya Dih;* while the small *Baheriwa Tâl* lies at the distance of about 700 feet to the south of *Burhapar Dih*. The name of the small *Baheriwa*, or *Bahe-*

râwa Tâl, is said to have been derived from a large ancient *Bahera tree* which formerly stood on its banks.

At the distance of about 650 feet to the south-south-east from *Burhapar Dih*, a very distinct and well-marked water-channel, or broad nalla, issues from the *Baheriwa Tâl*, and runs first east, then east-north-east, and lastly north-east, until it unites, or forms a junction, with the water-channel which comes from the *Bua Tâl*, at the distance of about 5,600 feet to the east of *Burhapar Dih*, and close to the north-north-east of a village called *Khusrupur*. From this point one large channel runs northwards to the west end of the *Tilchwa*, or *Tılchuaṅ Tâl*, a long lake bed which lies to the north and north-east and east of the village of *Tilchwa*. Here the channel is called the "*Tilchuaṅ Sohi*." The correct name is *Tail-chuaṅ*, which means "*Oil-oozing*," and in which we find the remembrance of the "*River of Oil*," of the Buddhist chronicles, preserved; as well as in the name of the *Majhôraṅ river* (the Sanskrit *Mrakshâ-varaṅ*) which rises from the *Tilchuan Tâl*.

From the south-eastern end of the *Tilchuan Tâl*, close to the village of *Sandih*, the *Gädi Nala* issues, and runs southwards, for a distance of about 2 miles, to *Hardi* (the "*Hurdee*" of the *maps*), where it assumes the name of "*Majhôraṅ*." From *Hardi* the *Majhôraṅ river* runs first south-eastwards and southwards for about a mile, and then runs eastwards for about 3½ miles, until it joins the *Kuano river*, opposite to the village of *Dûrkha* (the "*Doorkha*" of the maps).

I have, however, managed to ascertain that the whole of this concatenation of channels, including the *Gädi Nala*, the *Tilchuaṅ Sohi*, the *Bua Nala*, and the *Baheriwa* or *Baherâwa Nala*, from their first issue out of the *Bua Tâl* and *Baherawa Tâl*, was all originally called the "*Majhôraṅ*." This, therefore, is the "*Mrakshâ-vari*," or "*Mrakshâ-varaṅ*," or "*River of Oil*," of the Buddhist Chronicles.

On the other hand, the other branch, or channel, first previously described, which runs to the north-east from the dam of the *Dôchuân Nâla* at the *Burhapar Tâl*, and which joins the *Kuâno river* 2 miles to the south-east of *Mansurnagar*,—this branch I would identify with the "*Rohini river*," in a local or restricted sense; although, as I have previously explained, I believe the "*Rohini*" to be simply the old and correct name of the ancient bed or original course of the *Rawai*, or *Rohwai river*, which is now represented, col-

lectively, by the *Dochuan Nala*, the *Gädi Nala*, and the *Majhora Nadi*. And I may here mention that some of the villagers still occasionally call the Rohwai river by the familiar name of "*Rohwaini*" which is virtually the same as *Rohini*. As I have shown previously, in the introductory portion of this Report, the name of the "*Rohini*" simply means "the brown-coloured river;" and it is, therefore, synonymous with "*Mrakshâ-varan*," which would mean "of an oily colour," and it is also synonymous with *Kapilâ*" or "*Kapili*," which means "brown."[1]

Thus the *Dóchŭan Nala* portion of the *Rohini* served for the irrigation of the rice-fields belonging to the people of *Kapilavastu* (*Bhuila*), while the *Gädi* Nala portion of the *Rohini* served for the irrigation of the rice-fields belonging to the people of *Vyâghrapura*, or *Koli*.

As, therefore, I think I have succeeded, with tolerable certainty, in my identification of both the *Rohini river* and the "*River of Oil*," it will be easy for us to find the "*Lumbini Garden*," which was situated near the bank of the last mentioned stream; and it will be less difficult for us, thereafter, to discover the site of the town of *Koli*, or *Vyâghrapua*, which is said to have been situated a little beyond, or to the east of the *Lumbini Garden*.

According to Fa-Hian, the Lumbini Garden was situated at the distance of 50 *li*, or about 8 miles, to the east from Kapilavastu. According to Huen Thsang, the garden in question was situated 80 or 90 *li*, or from 13 to 15 miles, to the north-east from the *Sara-kupa*, and on the banks of the "River of Oil;" but, from the position which Huen Thsang assigned to the *Sara-kupa*, the distance from it to the *Lumbini Garden* could not possibly have been more than 6 or 7 miles, as General Cunningham has shown. Now, I have already identified the *Sara-kupa* with "*Sarkûhiya*," which is situated between 4 and 5 miles to the south half south-south-east, from *Bhuila Dih*, the proposed site of the city of *Kapilavastu*. I have, also, already identified the "*River of Oil*," on which the *Lumbini Garden* was situated, with the *Bairahwa Nala*, the *Gadi Nala*, and the upper part of the *Majhôra river*, close to the south of Shiwpur; and I have also other reasons for believing that the *Lumbini Garden* was situated near *Shiwpur*. The distance from *Sarkuhiya*

[1] It is remarkable that there is a small ancient *dîh*, or mound of ruins, called "Kâpari," or Kapuli," or "Kapili Dih," which is situated on the Dochuan Nala, about 3 miles to the east of Bhuila, and about 6,600 feet to the west of Burhapâr Dih.

to *Shiwpur*, measured direct, on the map, is nearly 6½ miles, which agrees with the inference of "6 or 7 miles," drawn by General Cunningham from the emplacement of the *Sara-kûpa* by Huen Thsang. The distance of *Shiwpur* from *Bhuila Dih* (or Kapilavastu) is nearly 7 miles direct, but in travelling I myself found it to be fully 8 miles, which agrees, as nearly as possible, with the distance of the *Lumbini* Garden from Kapilavastu, as given by Fa-Hian. It agrees also in position, as Shiwpur lies to the east from *Bhuila*, in like manner as the Lumbini Garden lay to the east from *Kapilavastu*.

In the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, the Lumbini Garden is called a "garden of *sâl* trees," it must, therefore, have been of considerable extent; and I shall presently be able to show that, in the very locality which I have indicated (*i.e.*, the neighbourhood of *Shiwpur*), there was formerly actually a forest of *sâl* trees.

Huen Thsang calls this garden "La-fa-ni," while Fa-Hian calls it "Lun-ming."[1] But, according to the Ceylonese chronicles (as quoted in the "Ancient Geography of India," page 416), the garden was called "Lumbini;" and General Cunningham has informed me that it was so named by *Suprabuddha*, the father of Mâyâ Devi, after his own wife, whose name was "Lumbinî."[1] *Her* name might thus be derived from "*lum-vèni*," which would mean "braided hair tied up in a knot behind;" and "*lavanveni*," or "*lôn-beni*," would mean "beautiful braided hair."[1]

In most of the Buddhist chronicles it is stated that it was a garden of *sâl* trees; and all accounts agree in stating that it was under a *sâl* tree that *Buddha* was born. Now, it is difficult to imagine such a thing as a mere garden of *sâl* trees. There might be a grove or clump of *sâl* trees, or a plantation of *sâl* trees, or â forest of *sâl* trees; but the word "*garden*" is not applicable to anything of the kind,—unless one could call the "*New Forest*," in England, a garden, or unless one could speak also of a garden of teak trees, or a garden of oak trees, or a garden of fir trees, or a garden of beech trees, which would sound somewhat strange and absurd, at least to the ears of Europeans. It is well known that in the present day, in

[1] I have, however, a strong suspicion that the La-fa-ni and Lun-ming of the Chinese travellers, and the Lumbini of the Ceylonese chronicles, are simply corruptions of the Sanskrit *lavanveni*, or the Hindi *on-beni*, from *lavan* or *lon*, "salt" and *veni*, "a sangham or confluence of two rivers," as the Baherawa channel, which runs to the south-east of Burhapâr, forms a junction with the Bua Nala in a saline river plain.

India, the terms "*bâgh*" and "*baghich*," which properly mean a "garden", are applied indiscriminately to all kinds of things which are not gardens. I see now here before and around me, as I sit writing, numerous clumps, or groves, or assemblages, of large trees, of various extents, in different directions, each of which is called a "*bagh*" or "*baghich*," or "*baghiwa*" meaning "a garden." These groves of trees vary in extent from an eighth of a mile to one mile, and even more; and the trees are of various species, only two of which species could be called fruit-bearing trees. One of these so-called "gardens" is simply a random mixture of various kinds of common trees, not one of which bears any edible fruit; another is a mixture of bamboo trees with other different kinds; another is simply a patch of original forest, including "sâkhu" trees, that has been left isolated, near a modern village, in a clearance made by Mr. Cooke; another is a large grove of mango trees; another is a grove principally of mahua trees—the remnant of an original forest. Yet all these are absurdly and indiscriminately called "*bâgh*," or "gardens!" And I expect that this loose application of the terms for a "garden" was much the same in ancient as in modern times.

From the gist of the preceding remarks we may easily imagine what was the real nature of the "garden of *sâl* trees called Lumbini;" and that it was simply a forest) it may be, a choice forest (of *sâl* trees, and neither more nor less! And this is what I wish particularly to impress upon those who may read this Report,—that what is referred to, what we have to do with, and what we have to look for, is a *sâl* forest, and not a mere "garden!"

I have thought it necessary to make these preliminary remarks, because it is of the utmost importance that we should understand clearly what we ought to expect, and the real nature of that which we are in search of. And the object of these remarks will become the more apparent when I state that I believe that I have discovered the actual locality of the ancient sâl forest, and that a considerable portion of this sâl forest was still in existence up to the time of the Mutiny in 1857; and, moreover, that an old servant of mine, who is a native of that very part of the country, and lived within two miles of the sâl forest, had himself in his younger days, helped to cut sâl timber there!

The following appears to have been, as near as possible, the position and extent of what remained of this sâl forest, say about the year 1855, or a year or two previous to the

mutiny of 1857, as far as I have been able to ascertain from personal enquiries on the spot. But it must be understood that it was not exclusively a mere sâl forest, but that it was a forest of mixed timber or of different sorts of trees, in which there were also many "sâkhu" and sâl trees, which in some spots predominated.

I must again beg to refer to the *Güdi*, or Dhâbrawa Nala, which runs close past Hardi ("Hurdee" in the maps), and to Shiwpur ("Shewpoor" in the maps), which lies about two-thirds of a mile to the north of the Gîdi Nala, where it runs through the long, narrow lake, or jheel, of Tîlchhwa (the "Teeneechh" of the maps,——[Query? from the Sanskrit "Tewan-ikshu," meaning——"a garden or plantation of sugarcane"]).[1] A mile and quarter to the east of Hardi, there is a village the name of which is spelt "Sookrowlee," in the maps. The sâl forest is said to have commenced at this point, which is about 2 miles from the Kuano river. From thence the sâl forest is said to have extended northwards, by way of Pharwâlia (the "Phurwaleea" of the maps); and from the latter place to "Sandee" (Sân-dih), keeping about half a mile to the east of the village; and from thence on to a village the name of which is spelt "Dunourburea" in the maps, but the real name of which is Jîn-gû-bâri, or Jîn-gur-bhariyâ, the latter meaning "irrigated land corrugated by furrows." The sâl forest lay between the above-named places and the Kuano or Kuani river. It will thus be seen that the sâl forest lay close to Shiwpur; but it would appear from local traditions that in ancient times the sâl forest extended even to the west of Shiwpur. From this point the sâl forest is said to have extended still further northwards, as far as the junction of the northern branch of the Dochûân Nala with the Kuano river, 2 miles to the south-east of Mansûrnagar (wrongly spelt "Maisoornugur" in the maps?); and from thence on further north-west towards Sakhuya and Surseea (Sarsiya). This would give a total extent for the sâl forest from south to north of about 7 miles, with a varying breadth from east to west of from 2 to 3 miles, along the right or west bank of the Kuâno river. But nearly the whole of this sâl forest has been cut down within the last twenty-five years, and it has in part been replaced by a smaller forest of mahua, and a few *sâkhu*, or young sâl trees. Yet, still, I found the jangal

[1] But the real name of the place is Tilchuan, from *tail-chuan*, meaning "oil-oozing."

or forest very dense on some parts of the banks of the Kuân river, although Mr. Cooke has made many clearances. And even until quite lately there were a few sâl trees still standing near Shiwpur.

The preceding description which I have given of the sâl forest must be understood only to refer to its much diminished, and fast diminishing condition in its latter days,—a few years previous to the mutiny, when it was in the course of being cut down, and much of it had already been cut down. But, as I have previously intimated, according to the local traditions, the sâl forest would appear to have originally, or anciently, been much more extensive, and to have extended much further west, even to the west of Shiwpur.

Now if a portion of the sâl forest anciently extended to the west of Shiwpur, I have reason to believe that it may in that case have extended as far west as Bûṛhapâra or Bûdhapâra (wrongly spelt "Boorapoor" in the maps), which is situated 2¼ miles to the west-south-west from Shiwpur) and that the Lumbini Garden was probably situated mostly between Shiwpur and Bûṛhapara, and that it was, perhaps in fact, a sort of pleasure garden made by a partially cultivated clearance on the westerly side of the sâl forest.

I have already previously stated that at Bûṛhapara there is an ancient *bandh*, or dam, or embankment which has been thrown across the Dóchûâṅ Nala there, and that I have identified this with the embankment which is said to have been thrown across the old bed of the Rohini river. This *bandh*, or dam, is about 700 feet in length, and runs across the Bûrhapara Tâl, near the middle of it. I have no doubt that this very embankment was the cause of the formation of the long narrow marshy lake or jheel which lies about 800 feet to the west-north-west from Bûṛhapara Dîh, and through which the Dóchûâṇ Nala runs; and that the Bûṛhapara lake must, therefore, originally have been simply an artificial back-water. There is a dih, or mound of ruins, to the west side of the village of Bûṛhapara, and about 1,000 feet to the south-south-west of the Dih there is an ancient tank. Bûṛhapara Dîh is a somewhat round-topped mound, which measured about 180 feet across from north to south, by about 300 feet from east to west.

The name of Bûṛhapara is pronounced with the cerebral sound of the letter *r*—like the cerebral *d* or *dh* sounded as a cerebral *r* as in the pronunciation of the word *burhiya* or *budhiya*, an old woman; and therefore the

name of the place ought probably more correctly to be written as Budhapara. Now, the Sanskrit root *par* means "to bring forth," and therefore *Buddhaparas* would mean "Buḍha's bringing forth," or *Buddha-parita* would mean "Buḍha brought forth," that is, the place where Buḍha was brought forth, or the birthplace of Budha! I, therefore, believe that Budhapara is the actual place where Maya Devi gave birth to Budha under the sâl tree in the Lumbini Garden!

Let us now call to mind what the Buddhist chronicles say about the birth of the infant Buddha. It is said that when Mâyâ Devi was near the time of her confinement she had a desire to see her father, Suprabudha, who was Raja of Koli or Vyâghrapura, which was situated beyond, or to the east of, the Lumbini Garden, and which may, therefore, probably have been situated about 9 or 10 miles to the east from Kapilavastu. Mâyâ Devi then set out on her journey to pay a visit to her father, but when she had got about half-way, being fatigued, she stopped to rest, it is said, in a garden of sâl trees called Lumbini. I have, however, shown that the Lumbini was more probably a garden formed by making a clearance in the sâl forest, and which would, therefore, be an ornamentally cultivated patch of cleared ground, surrounded by the trees of an original sâl forest; for it would be absurd to suppose that anything that could correctly be called a garden could have been made by planting a whole forest of sâl trees of several miles in extent! The Lumbini was, therefore, probably some pleasant cleared glade in the sâl forest, in which a tank or well had been constructed, and with a small stream flowing by.

Well, I have said that Mâyâ Devi, being fatigued by her journey, stopped half-way to rest in the Lumbini Garden; but being there overtaken by the pains of labour, she gave birth to the infant Budha under the shade of a sâl tree, and, in accordance with these circumstances, in all the Buddhist sculptures or statues which represent Mâyâ Devi, she is portrayed as standing under the sâl tree.

Now I may state that I believe I have discovered the true site of the town of Koli or Vyâghrapura, on the banks of the Kuano or Kuani river, a little over 9 miles to the east from Bhuila or Kapilavastu; but in travelling, the distance would, of course, be more, and I myself found the journey to the site which I have proposed for Vyâghrapura to be fully 10 miles. If, therefore, the place where the infant Budha

was born was about half-way, it would be about 5 miles to the east from Kapilavastu. I have already pointed out a place called Budhapara as the probable spot where the infant Budha was born; and Budhapara is just exactly $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, direct to the east-south-east, from Bhuila Dih or Kapilavastu; but in travelling to it myself, I found the journey to be fully 5 miles. Indeed, I may here as well point out that in this part of the country, which is full of lakes and jheels, and small rivers and watercourses of all kinds, and almost without any roads, one has often to make very roundabout detours in travelling from one place to another.

It would, therefore, appear that Budhapara, both in distance and in position, as well as in its significant name, corresponds exactly to the spot where the infant Budha was born.

I will now quote the substance of what Huen Thsang says about the place where Budha was born in the Lumbini Garden. He says that " by the Lumbini Garden there was a tank, which was afterwards turned into a well. In this tank the new-born prince was washed by two dragons. [Query, Nagas, or men of the " Magdar " tribe ?] By the tank there was a stûpa, which marked the spot where the infant prince was washed. To the east of the latter there were two stûpas near two springs of water. To the south there was a stûpa, where Indra is said to have taken the infant Budha in his arms. Somewhere near this there were four stûpas, where "four kings of heaven," or Devas, are said to have held the infant. Beside these four stûpas there was a great pillar, or column of stone, which was surmounted by the figure of a horse.

This pillar is said to have been overthrown and broken by a dragon, and it was lying on the ground, broken into two pieces, when Huen Thsang saw it. There was a small river flowing to the south-east of the Lumbini Garden, which was called the " River of Oil. "

Now, the small Bairâhwa or Baheriwa Tâl, from which the Gadi Nala first issues, is situated at the short distance of only about 700 feet to the south of *Budhapara Dih*, or the mound of ruins, which lies about 300 feet to the west side of the village of Burhapara; and where the watercourse, or nalla, which forms one of two sources of the Gadi Nala, or channel, issues out of the small Bairahwa or Baherawa or Baheriwa Tâl, it runs in an east-north-easterly direc-

tion to the Tilchhua or Tinchhwa Tâl, and in its course thither it passes within a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the village of Budhapara. Again, from the Bua Tâl, close to the south-east of the Bairahwa or Baheriwa Tâl, another channel runs north-eastwards to the Tilchhua Tâl. But these two nallas, or channels (the Bairahwa, or Baheriwa, and the "Bua" Nalas), unite or form a junction before they reach the Tilchhua Tâl, and at the distance of about 5,600 feet to the east from Burhapara Dih.

I have before explained that the Gadi Nala is in reality only the upper portion of the Majhora Nadi; so that in reality the Majhora rises from the Bua Tâl, and the Baheriwa or Bairahwa Tâl close to Budhapara; and I have already stated that I believe the name of the *Majhora* to be simply a corruption of the Sanskrit *Mrakshavari*, meaning "oily-water" or *Mrakshavoran*, meaning "of an oily colour;" and I have also identified Budhapara as the birthplace of Budha: and, therefore, in the upper portion of the Gadi or Majhora river we actually have the "*River of Oil*" running past the birthplace of Buddha; and the general course of the Gadi, *alias* Majhora, is in a south-easterly direction: all exactly as described by Huen Thsang. Moreover, the name of the Tilchhua Tâl, just previously referred to, also has the same meaning, for *tail-chuan* in Hindi means "oil-oozing;" so that, both in a Hindi form and in a corrupted Sanskrit form, we have plainly the name of the "River of Oil" preserved to this day.

Secondly, near the spot where Buddha was born, in the Lumbini Garden, there was a tank, in which the infant new-born Budha was washed by two dragons, and Huen Thsang says that this tank was afterwards turned into a well. (The result of my own explorations, however, would tend to show that when the tank became shallowed and dry a well was constructed close beside it, on its very edge.) Close to the tank or well there was a stûpa. A short distance to the east of this there were two stûpas, near or between two springs of water. Now, here we have a statement of certain positions which cannot be overlooked. I fully believe that the infant Budha was born under a sâl tree on the spot now occupied by the mound of ruins called Burhapar Dih, because it is situated just close to the east side of the dam or embankment on the old bed of the Rohini river, which Mâyâ Devi must have crossed when she was on her way from Kapilavastu to Vyâghrapura; and because the

Bairahwa Nala, the Gadi Nala, and Majhora river run to the south-eastwards of Burhapar, in the same manner as the "River of oil" ran to the south-east of the Lumbini Garden. But I believe that the tank or well wherein the infant Buddha was washed was situated at the old village and Dih of Hardiya, where there are several mounds of ruins, and an ancient tank or small Kund with an old well on the edge of it, and with something like the ruins of a stûpa close to it.

Hardiya Dih is situated only about 1,500 feet to the south-west from Burhapar Dih. Now, the birthplace of Buddha is said also to have been called *Deva-dœha*, meaning "given by god;" and the name of the village of Hardiya has the same meaning, for *hardiya* means "given by Har" (a god).

The village of Hardya is situated among mounds of ruins on the west bank of the southern branch of the Dochuan Nala, just where it is connected with the second Chapartalla Tâl. In the centre of the village of Hardiya there is a small but ancient and deep tank, or *kund* of a somewhat rounded, or irregularly oval shape, which measured about 80 feet in diameter across from east to west, by about 50 feet from north to south. This tank is dry in the hot weather, and is partly choked up by rubbish. On the southern edge of this old tank, or *kund*, there is an old well built of ancient bricks, and which is still in use. On the southern edge of the tank, and only about 5 feet to the north of the well, there is a small mound of brick ruins, which is evidently the remains of a stûpa. About 260 feet to the east-south-east from the tank there is a lowish mound of brick ruins called "Jogi Bir-ka Than," which from its name may probably have been the site of a *Vihara*, or "small monastery." About 200 feet to the south-west from the kund there is a larger and higher mound of ruins.

Having thus identified the tank, or *kund*, in which the infant Buddha was washed, we have now to find the "two springs," or "two channels," or "sources of water," and the site of the two stûpas" which stood between the two springs which were situated at some distance to the east of the tank in which the infant Buddha was washed.

About 300 feet to the south-east from the tank the southern branch of the Dochuan Nala overflows into the Baherawa Tâl. This I consider to be one of the "springs of water" mentioned by Huen Thsang.

Next, about 850 feet further east, another channel, called the Baherawa, or the Bairahwa Nala, issues from the Chapartalla Tâl, and runs north-north-eastwards into the small Bairawa lake, at the west end of which there is an old embankment. I consider this second channel to represent the other of the "two springs of water" mentioned by Huen Thsang.

Exactly half-way between these two channels above described, and due east from the Hardiya Kund and well, there is a large ancient tank, or *pokhra*, surrounded by high and broad embankments. On the northern, western, and southern sides of these embankments there are somewhat conical eminences, which may very possibly be the sites of stûpas which have since been destroyed. At any rate I feel certain that the two stûpas between the two springs of water mentioned by Huen Thsang must have been situated on the broad embankments of this large, ancient tank, or *pokhra*, which is situated exactly half-way between two water channels.[1]

Lastly, Huen Thsang mentions that to the south there were five stûpas and a great stone pillar (the latter lying broken in two pieces, when Huen Thsang saw it). One of these stûpas was raised on the spot where Indra is said to have taken the infant Buddha in his arms, and four other stûpas marked the spot where "four kings of heaven," or Devas, are said to have held the infant.

Now, about 4,600 feet, or three-quarters of a mile, to the south-south-east from *Burhapâra Dih*, and about the same distance, or less, to the south-east from the large embanked tank or *pokhra* last mentioned, there are some conspicuous mounds of brick ruins, called "Bua *dih*," on the eastern bank of a lake called the *Bua Tâl*. The first and most conspicuous of these is a brick stûpa, about 40 or 50 feet in diameter; and, although much ruined and worn, it is still of some considerable height (probably about 8 feet); but the people of the neighbouring villages say that a great quantity of the bricks have been gradually dug off it and taken away. Nevertheless, it has still the clear and distinct outline of a stûpa, and it is still a most conspicuous object of view. I believe this to be the stûpa which marked the spot where Indra is said to have taken the infant Buddha in his arms.

[1] This opinion of mine has since been confirmed, as some of the oldest inhabitants of Hardiya informed me that some years ago there were two round-topped or conical mounds of brick near this tank, one of which stood on the southern embankment, and the other on the western embankment of the tank. The people called these two stûpas "*deolis*."

About 90 feet beyond, or to the south of this stûpa, there are the remnants of the ruins of the base of another (smaller) stûpa, which appears to have been about 30 feet in diameter. About 70 feet beyond or to the south of the last there are the ruins of the base of another stûpa, which appears to have been about 20 feet in diameter. About 35 feet beyond, or to the south of the last, there are the remnants of two very small stûpas, which lie about 10 feet apart, south-east and north-west of one another. Of these, the more easterly one of the two appeared to have been about 15 feet in diameter, and the westerly one about 10 feet in diameter.

The large stûpa first mentioned, and the ruined remnants of the four smaller ones, are situated on a curved-shaped mound of ruins, which is narrow about the middle, but curves round towards the west at its northern and southern ends. This mound of ruins is about 400 feet in length from north to south, with a breadth from east to west, about the middle, of about 100 feet; but at its northern end it sends out an extension westwards for about 200 feet; while at its southern end it sends out an extension westwards for about 140 feet. At the north-western end of this mound of ruins, a nalla, or water-channel, issues out of the Buâ Tâl, and runs in a north-easterly direction towards the Tilchhwa Tâl and Gädi Nala.

At the distance of about 850 feet to the south from this series of ruins, there is a very large and extensive, but solid and compact, mound of ruins, which measured 1,000 feet each way. There are also traces of smaller brick ruins beyond its western, southern, and south-eastern sides. To the north-north-eastern side of this great mound of ruins, there is a very large square tank, called a *pokhra*, or *sagar*, which is surrounded by high embankments. I believe this great mound of ruins to have been the site of some large Buddhist establishment, or monastery.

This great mound of ruins is now occupied by a pretty large modern village called "*Kurda*," which is almost entirely peopled by Muhammadans. But the Muhammadan inhabitants of the village say that the original name of the place was "*Bua*," and that the modern village of *Kurda* was founded and named by them in quite recent times.

These Muhammadan villagers gave the following account of the matter:—They said that they originally came from a

place called *Hasna*, in a part of the country a way long to the south. They then settled at a place a short distance to the south of *Bua* (probably at *Hutnâs*, the "Hutnaoo" of the maps), in the time of Aurangzeb. When they first came to this part of the country, about 150 years ago, they say they found the whole place a mass of dense jangal. Two Muhammadan brothers used to drive their cattle northwards every day for pasture, and on one of these occasions they discovered the great mound of ruins at *Bua*, which was then covered with jangal. The two brothers then thought that it would be a good elevated site for a village, and so they settled on it, and cleared it, and built dwellings on it for themselves and families; and in time the settlement increased, and it became a village.

About 1,040 feet to the south-east of the great mound of *Bua*, or *Kurda*, there is a low mound of brick ruins, which is called "*Jogi Bir ka Tha*," which, I suspect, should be *Jogian ka* Bhir *ka Thân*," which would mean "the place of assembly of jogis;" and I, therefore, believe that it refers to a place of assembly of Buddhist monks in ancient times.

Ancient Hindu bricks of a very large size are found, both in *Bua-dih* and in the great mound on which the village of *Kurda* is situated; and these bricks are of the same size as the largest of the ancient bricks which were found in the excavations at Bhuila or Kapilavastu. Moreover, fragments of ancient terracotta images were found at the great mound of Kurda, exactly like those which were found in the excavations at *Kapilavastu*.

But the most convincing proof of the great antiquity of Bua-dih and the great mound of ruins adjoining it at *Kurda*, is that large copper Indo-Scythic coins, of the time of Wemo-Kadphises, and Kanishka, are found there, and several of which I obtained on the spot. I also obtained an ancient square Buddhist coin, bearing the symbol of Dharma, from the same place; and also an ancient square punch-marked coin.

As I said before, "Bua" is the ancient name of the place. With regard to the name of "Kurda," it may either be derived from the Hindi *kurd*, which means "the self-immolation of a devotee" or "a person who has self-immolated himself"; or it might be a corruption of the Persian *khurdah* meaning "pasture," from *khurdan* "to feed." But the name of the place is pronounced "Kurda."

Here, again, I found the name of the Thârus brought forward; for one or two of the oldest inhabitants of Kurda said that they had heard that Thârus had originally possessed Kurda or Bua.

So, in like manner, when I sent a party to explore and make some measurements at Koraun-dih, in Zillah Mhauli or Mahuli (the "Mhowlee" of the maps), to the east-south-east of Basti, and which I have proposed, further on, as the possible site of the " Ramagrama " of the Buddhist traditions, the inhabitants of the adjoining villages came running out, exclaiming that the Tharus had come again to their old place, to search for their hidden treasures; and it leaked out from this that the popular belief of the peasantry was that the Thârus were the original founders of Koraun-dih.

I have already mentioned that the same tradition is current with regard to Bhuila or *Kapilavastu;* and therefore this constant reference to the Tharas is very remarkable, if not significant.

I will now make a few final remarks about the course which Maya Devi followed in her journey from Kapilavastu to *Vyaghrapura* or Koli, and the exact position and extent of the *Lumbini* Garden, so far as I have been able to ascertain from personal exploration; and I may here give the positive assurance that any statements I may have made, or any opinions I may have expressed, or may here offer, in connection with the identification of either the Rohini river, the *Lumbin Garden*, or the River of Oil, are minutely and absolutely correct in every particular; and are founded on, and derived from, a careful and laborious personal examination of, I may say, almost every foot of the ground that lies between the Lake of Bhuila and the Kuâno river. I have actually walked on foot along all the windings and turnings of the courses of each of the ancient river-beds, water-channels, or nallas which I have described; and I have visited and walked round each of the lakes, or lake beds, which I have mentioned, and I have carefully examined each site and every *mund* of ruins.

I, therefore, simply deal with actual facts; and consequently, as my statements cannot be altered or modified in any way, they must *either* be accepted *in toto* as I give them, or else rejected *in toto.*

I have already mentioned in my description of Bhuila that there is a small mound of brick ruins on the north-eastern bank of the Bhuila Lake; that the ground there is high;

and that the fields there are strewed, here and there, for some distance, with fragments of brick and pottery, that is, between the village of Ama and the Saraya Tâl, and extending from the north-eastern bank of the Bhuila Lake eastwards, here and there, in the direction of Rânipur Dih. I have also mentioned that portions of an ancient road are still traceable along the middle part of this tract of ground from near the north-eastern side of the Bhuila Lake passing to the south of Rânipur Dih, and thence nearly all the way to Majhowan and Hardiya, and in the direction of Burhapâr; and that I believed that this ancient road must originally have run from Bhuila to Burhapar, and from thence again onwards to the Barâh Chhetr, or Varâha Kshetra, or Vyâghrapura on the Kuâno river; and that, therefore, I believed that this must have been the actual line of road along which Mâyâ Devi travelled to the Lumbini Garden on her way from *Kapilavastu* to *Vyâghrapura* or *Koli.*

I have also identified the *Dochuan* Nala with the *Rohini river*, or in other words, the ancient or primeval bed of the *Rohwai river.*

But *Mâyâ Devi* never reached her destination, but had to stop to rest half-way in the *Lumbini* Garden, where she was overtaken by the pains of labour, and where the infant Buddha was born. Now I have already shown that *Burhapar* is exactly half-way, and that it is situated between the *Dochuan* Nala or Rohini river and another channel or water-course which I have identified with the "*River of Oil.*"

If, therefore, *Mâyâ Devi* travelled along the old road from *Bhuila*, or *Kapilavastu,* to *Majhowan*, and from thence on to Hardiya and Burhapâr, she would have to cross the *Dochuan Nala*, or old *Rohini river*, by passing over the dam or embankment which, as I have shown, crosses the channel, or old river bed, close to the west side of *Burhapâr.* I, therefore, believe that immediately *Mâyâ Devi* had crossed over this embankment, she found herself in the *Lumbini* Garden, that is, on the very spot where *Burhapâr* now is; and that it was here that she stopped to rest, and where her infant son was born.

I have also pointed out that another channel, or old river bed, passes close to the south-east of *Burhapâr*, and that this is one of the sources of the *Gädi Nala*, or *Mujhor river*, and that, therefore, this must be the "*River of Oil*" which flowed to the south-east of the *Lumbini* Garden.

We have, therefore, fixed and ascertained one point in, or portion of, the *Lumbini* Garden, with absolute certainty. But, as it would appear to have been a grove of sâl trees, the *Lumbini* Garden must have been of some extent. I, therefore, believe that the *Lumbini* Garden, which included *Burhapâr Dih,* must have extended thence in four directions. First, southwards, to the ancient tank, or *pokhra* which lies between two channels close to the east of *Hardiya* and to the south of *Burhapâr Dîh. Secondly,* south-eastwards to the channel, or old river bed, which issues, primarily, from the *Chapartalla Tâl,* and, secondarily, from the small *Baherâwa Tâl* and which forms the source of the Gadi, or Majhora. *Thirdly*, eastwards to the continuation of the same channel, where it turns north-eastwards to meet another channel which comes from the Bua Tâl, and from which point the united channel runs towards the *Tilchuan Tâl. Fourthly*, northwards, to the banks of the north-eastern continuation of the *Dochuan Nala* or *Rohini river;* and north-east-wards to the village of Pikaora, at which there is a very ancient tank, or *pokhra;* and so on, again, east-north-eastwards to the western end or commencement of the *Tilchuan* Tâl.

Thus, the *Lumbini* Garden would be placed between, and entirely surrounded by, ramifications of the old *Rohini river*, and of the other channel which represents the "*River-of Oil.*"

This would give an extent to the *Lumbini* Garden of nearly a mile and a quarter from east to west by about a mile and a quarter from north to south, which again would give a total circumference of nearly 5 miles. Or, if we suppose that the actual *Garden* itself occupied a rather smaller space, or somewhat lesser area, within the same bounds, we may then estimate its size to have been about a mile square, or about 4 miles in circumference.

I will now proceed cursorily to notice a few other sites, or mounds of ruins, in the neighbourhood of *Burhapâr*, or *Budhapâr*.

At the west side of the village of *Bara Dâr*, on the Dochuan Nala, there is a lowish mound, which is situated at the distance of about 1,100 feet to the north-north-east from Burhapâr Dih.

At the west side of the village of Kesarai, about a mile and a quarter to the north-west from Buḍhapâra, there is a small low mound of ruins, with a sculptured stone lying on

the top of it, which is called the *Argha* of *Gupt Nâth*, but which looked to me like as if it had originally been the base of a pillar or the cap of a stûpa, which had been altered by cutting, and to the north of Kesarai there is an old fort of a square shape with high ramparts.

The village of *Majahâwan* is situated at the distance of 3,500 feet to the west from Burhapâr Dih. The name of the village of "*Majhawan*" I think may be a corruption of the Sanskrit *Mokshâ-vana*, meaning the delightful garden, or garden of beatitude, as General Cunningham quotes from a note by Klaproth in "*Fo-k-kowe-kith*" the effect that the Lumbini Garden, in which Buddha was born, was also called "*Parâdi Moksha*," or "Supreme Beatitude;" and it is easy to see how Majhawan may be a corruption of *Mokshâ-vana,* if the name of the *Majhara* river be a corruption of *Mrakshâ-vari,* or *Mrakshâ-varan*, meaning "the Oily River."

At the village of Pipra, about a mile and a quarter to the west-south-west from Burhapâra, there is a *dih*, or mound of ruins, and two ancient tanks which are said originally to have been *baoli* wells.

At the village of *Ainpur,* on the south side of the Aila Tâl, and about a mile and a half to the south-west from Burhapâr, there is a large and high mound of ruins.

The village of *Tilchhuan* (the *Teench* of the maps) is situated on the *Tilchhuan Sohi,* or *Gadi Nala*, about 6,900 feet to the east-north-east from *Budhapar Dih.* This village of *Tilchuun* is partly situated on a mound of ruins; and a short distance to the east of the village there is a small mound of ruins, composed of ancient bricks which measured 100 feet by 90 feet across each way, but the Muhammadans pretend that either a *Shahid* or a *Sayad* is buried in it.

The large village of *Shiwpur* is situated about a mile to the north of *Tilchhuan.* Close to the north side of the village of *Shiwpur* there is a large mound of ruins; and on this mound I saw a curious round-topped eminence. When I visited the mound, there were the remains of a small ruined building on it; and there was an old well on a part of the mound. To the west side of the mound there is a pond or tank. Altogether, this mound of ruins appeared to me to be of importance and worthy of notice. A spot on this mound is called "*Har-satika Thân.*"

There is said to have been a monastery or *Vihâra*, called the *Nirodh-ârâma* or Nyagrodha Vihâra on the *Rohini* river, near *Kapilavastu.* Without any more exact data than this to guide

one, it is impossible to fix upon any particular spot for the situation of this *vihâra*; but, as *Nyagrodha* is the Sanskrit for the *Bârgad* tree, and, as there is a village called "*Bargadêya*," on the bank of the north-eastern branch of the *Dochuan Nala*, or *Rohini*, about a mile to the north-west of *Shiwpur*, I thought that *Bargadeya* might perhaps turn out to be the site of the *Nyagrodha* monastery; but, unfortunately I could not find any mound of ruins at *Bargadeya*.

I have already previously referred to an ancient site or mound, called *Kâpari* or *Kapuli* or *Kapili Dih*, which is situated at the junction of two branches or feeders of the Dochuan Nala, or Rohini, at the distance of 6,600 feet, or a mile and a quarter, to the west from Burhapâr Dih, and less than 3 miles to the east of Bhuila Tâl. My own belief is that this must have been the site of the hermitage, or *vastu*, of *Kapila Rishi*, and from whom the name of *Kapilavastu* is said to have been derived.

24.—KOLI, OR VYAGHRAPURA.

Koli, or *Vyâghrapura*, was the residence of Raja *Suprabuddha*, the father of *Mâyâ Devi*, the mother of *Sâkya Muni*, or Buddha; and it was to visit her father at this place that Mâyâ Devi was going, when she gave birth to her illustrious son, under a sâl tree in the *Lumbini* Garden, about half-way between *Kapilavastu* and *Koli*.

The first name of the place, "*Koli*" would seem to have been derived either from *kol*, meaning "a creek," or "a narrow channel," or "a long narrow passage",—or from *kaue*, or *kul*, which means either "a bank of a river" or "a heap or mound," or "a pond or pool," or else from *kaula*, *kola*, or *kauli*, which means "a corner in a bend or angle," as, for instance, the retreating angle in the bend of a river. Now it is remarkably curious that I believe I have actually found the site of the town of *Koli*, accompanied by certain natural features and peculiarities which exactly correspond to all the various suggested meanings of the name, which I have just given. For the site which I have identified as that of *Koli*, is situated at a place called "*Barahchhetra*," in the retreating angle of an extraordinary bend of the *Kuano*, or *Kuani*, river, on the very bank of the river,—and where the river runs through a narrow channel, between artificial embankments! And such a place as this would be described as a *Kol*, *Kul*, *Kaula*, *Kauli*, or *Koli*, in Hindi, at the present day! There is no other place in India like it that ever I have seen. It is

quite remarkable, unique, and could not be passed over or mistaken. It is evidently the site of an ancient town, which had pleasure gardens and tanks surrounding it, and for the special benefit, convenience, and safety, of the inhabitants of which one of the finest little rivers in India, the *Kuâno* or *Kuâni*, was banked up, or banked in, like a canal, between artificial embankments, in order to keep it out of the now nearly dry beds of two ancient lakes, which lie on either side of it, like empty yawning gulfs; and the bed of the river is raised, by the embankments, above the nearly dry, hollow beds, of the two ancient lakes, on either side of it, like a donkey's back between two panniers!

This place is situated at the distance of a little over 9 miles, direct, or say 10 miles, due east from *Bhuila Dih*, or *Kapilavastu*, 4½ miles, or nearly 5 miles, east-north-east from Budhapara, and about 9 miles to the north-east from "*Sarkûhia*," which I have identified with *Sarakûpa*. But in travelling, on account of the rivers, nallas, and lakes which intervene, the road distance from *Sarkuhia* to the *Barahchhetra*, or *Koli*, would probably be fully 11 or 12 miles. It is evident, therefore, that Huen Thsang's exaggerated distance of 18 or 19 *li*, or from 13 to 15 miles, from the *Sarakupa*, must really have been to the town of *Koli*, and not to the *Lumbini* Garden at all!

But if I have correctly identified *Bârah Chhetra* with "*Koli*," it is necessary also that I should be able to prove that it is entitled to the second name of "*Vyaghrapura*." The correct Sanskrit name of the *Barah Chhetra* is "*Varaha Kshetra*;" and all the natives of this part of the country, with one accord, declare that the *Varaha Avatar* of Vishnu took place at this spot, and a great *mela*, or fair, is held here, on this very account. Now, it is stated by the Brahmans, and also in the *Purânas* that the *Varâha Avatar* of Vishnu was manifested at a place called "*Vyaghrapuri*;" and consequently the *Barah Chhetra*, or *Varaha Kshetra*, must be the "*Vyâghrapuri*" of the *Brahmanical* traditions, and the "*Vyâghrapura*" of the *Buddhist* chronicles! This argument which I have brought forward in proof of the correctness of my identification of *Vyâghrapura*, appears to me to be logically self-evident and irrefragable.

The manner in which I came to find out that the *Barah Chhetra* was the site of *Vyâghrapura*, was as follows:—I had gone on an exploring expedition to the *Kuâno* river, and I visited the *Barah Chhetra*, which I had heard was a famous

place, and the reputed scene of one of the *Avatâras* of *Vishnu*. On hearing the latter, I thought at first that it might possibly be the last or ninth, or "*Buddha Avatar*," of Vishnu that was referred to; and that it might thus turn out to be the birth-place of Buddha. But I happened to fall into conversation with a Brahman, and I asked him what *Avatar* of Vishnu had taken place at the *Bârah Chhetra*, and he said that it was the *Varâha Avatar*, and that this was the meaning of the name of the place, and that the correct form of the name was "*Varâha Kshetra*." I then told the Brahman that I had been in *Rajputana*, and that I had visited a place called *Baghera*, between Tonk Toda and *Ajmer;* and that the people of *Bâghera* had informed me that the ancient name of the place was *Vyâghra*, and that the *Varâha Avatar* of Vishnu had taken place there; and that they declared, moreover, that it was the true place of the *Varâha Avatar* referred to in the *Purânas*, and not another "*Vyâghrapuri*," in the north, near Ayodya. To this the Brahman replied that he was perfectly certain that the Barah *Chhetra*, or *Varâha Kshetra*, was the real place where the *Varâha Avatâr* was manifested; and he stated that he knew that it was said to have occurred at a place called *Vyâghrapuri*, but that the *Bârah Chhetra*, or *Varâha Kshetra* was the true and original *Vyâghrapuri*!

This was enough for me. The Brahman was little aware of the important information that he was conveying to me. This, then, is the "*Vyâghrapura*" of the Buddhist chronicles. There can be no doubt, therefore, that I have actually discovered the site of the ancient town of "Vyâghrapura," or "Koli," at the Barâh Chhetra on the Küâno or Küâni River! And this important discovery also confirms my identification of Bhuila with Kapilavastu to a certainty!

I will now proceed to describe the Barâh Chhetra (Vyâghrapura) and its neighbourhood more minutely.

On looking at Quarter Sheet No. 87, N.E. of the Indian Atlas, it will be seen that about 7¼ miles to the north-north-west from Basti, and about 2½ miles nearly due east from Shiwpur, there is an extraordinary doubly-angular bend eastwards, in the Küâno or Küâni river. It is in this bend, on the right or western bank of the river, that the Bârâh Chhetra, or Varâha Kshetra, and the site of Vyâghrapura is situated. It will also be seen that there is a long-shaped lake marked down in contact with the eastern side of this bend of the Küâno River. But there is also the hollow bed of a smaller lake, now almost dry, within the bend on the western bank of

the Küâno River; but which is not marked in the maps. These two lake-beds probably originally formed one large lake into which the Küâna river flowed; but the river has been cut off from them on either side by being banked up like a canal with embankments on both sides of it. The bed of the Küâno river appeared to me to be absolutely higher than the beds of the two ancient lakes on either side of it. Certainly the bed of the larger lake on the east side lies at a considerably lower level than the bed of the Küâno river. There is generally at all times a little water left in the bottom of this great lake bed, but it is never anything like full, and never wears the appearance of a lake, except during the rains. Yet this great lake-bed is about a mile and a half in length from north-west to south-east, with a varying breadth of generally about a quarter of a mile; but in the middle it must be fully half a mile in breadth. The old lake-bed on the west side is much smaller, and generally quite dry, except during the rains. This smaller ancient lake basin may be about half a mile in length from north-east to south-west, by from a quarter of a mile to less from north-west to south-east. The western embankment on the Küâno river runs along the north-western, eastern, and south-eastern sides of this hollow basin; and it is bounded by natural heights on the north and west, which are covered by an open forest of fine trees, with two or three small villages situated here and there on the heights among the trees.

It was on these natural heights, last mentioned, on the northern and western edges of this hollow basin, that the ancient town of Vyâghrapura was situated; but all that remains of the traces of the town now are fragments of broken brick and bits of old pottery, scattered here and there. There was, however, one projecting round-shaped knoll of this high ground on the northern side, which was entirely covered with fragments of brick; and I also saw fragments of brick and bits of old pottery on one spot on the high grounds on the western side. But wherever the forest has been cut down and fields made and cultivated in the immediate neighbourhood, brick and old pottery are still turned up by the plough here and there. In fact, it is the growth of trees and grass, and a consequent upper surface of modern vegetable mould that hide whatever other remains of the ancient city may be buried in the ground. The greatest monument of the ancient city is the banking-in of the Küâno river like a canal immediately opposite to its site.

The Varâha Kshetra, or rather the Kund, or deep tank, and temple of the Varâha Avatâr,—are situated at the inner southern angle of the *cul de sac* of the bend of the river, and at the south-eastern angle of the *bândh*, or embankments. Here there is the most extraordinary tank that I ever saw. It is situated close to the bank of the river, and it probably may have some subterraneous communication with the latter in the manner of an artesian well. This bank is absolutely a "bottomless pit." It is tremendously deep (said to be unfathomable), circular-shaped at top, funnel-shaped below, with high, perpendicular bank all round it, except on the western side, where a sloping road leads down to the tank. A superficial nalla also runs from the top of the tank to the river on the eastern side. On the top of the bank on the north side of the tank, there are the traces of the foundations of some ancient building composed of large ancient bricks. On this there now stands a small, square, roofless, ruined shrine, which contains a small lingam, and with it also a large square sculptured stone, with a wide square vacuity in the middle of it, which I recognised as the cap of a stûpa, because a stone stûpa cap, which was found at a ruined stûpa at Bhuila, is the very exact counterpart of it. To the south side of the tank, in a grove of trees, there is a very plain and ugly modern brick temple.

To the south-west of the low hollow valley, or old lake basin, where the *bândh*, or embankment, comes to an end, there is an open reach to the river, which is here joined by a *nalla*, or water-course, which comes in from the north-west. Beyond this, at an elbow of the river, where it commences to turn southwards, there is a high, square, deserted mud fort, now overgrown with trees, which is said to have been constructed by a Raja of Basti, called "Lall Sahib." Further to the westwards, near a village, there is a fine grove of large trees, and several ponds or tanks; and I also noticed two or three small white-washed structures, which may possibly have been Sati monuments. I think that this spot may have been the site of a pleasure garden in form ertimes which belonged to the ancient city of Nyâghrapura.

A great fair, or *mela*, is held at the Barâh Chhetra twice a year, in the months of Chait and Kartik.

24.—RAMAGRAMA.

Of the eight portions into which the relics of *Buddha* were divided at his death, one portion was granted to the *Kosalas*

of *Râmagrâma*, who erected a stûpa to contain it. The remaining seven portions, which had been allotted to other places, were afterwards collected together by *Ajâtasatru*, king of Magadha, and were enshrined together in one single grand stûpa, at Râjagraiha; but the eighth portion was still left in the stûpa erected at *Râmagrâma.* Afterwards, however, the great Buddhist king Asoka became desirous to remove this portion of the relics to his own capital city, and made an attempt to obtain them. But it is said that a king of the Nâgas, who guarded the *Râmagrâma stûpa*, objected to their removal and expostulated with king Asoka to such good effect that he abandoned his attempt, and left the relies where they were.

The Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, however, had an absurd story to the effect that the *Râmagrâma* stûpa had been destroyed by a river, and that the relics it contained had consequently been washed away, and were eventually carried by the river to the sea, where they were seized upon by a maritime race of Nâgas and carried to their king, who built a stûpa over it,—we may suppose a Neptunian stûpa of coral! But it is further said that a very holy terrestrial Buddhist monk got the relics from the sea king by means of a miracle and carried them off to Ceylon, where they were enshrined in a great stûpa. This story, however, has now been pretty well proved to be false, as has been shown by General Cunningham, for both of the Chinese travellers, Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang, saw the *Râmagrâma Stûpa* still standing, entire and intact, but they did not see any "river" near it!

After visiting *Kapilavastu*, both of the Chinese travellers went on to *Râmagrâma*, or "*Lan-mo.*" Fa-Hian makes the distance from *Kapilavastu* to *Râmagrâma* to have been 5 *yojanas*, or about 35 miles, in an easterly direction; while Hwen Thsang makes the distance to have been 200 *li*, or about $33\frac{1}{3}$ miles, according to General Cunningham's equivalent. But, as I have before remarked, much allowance must be made in this part of the country for long round-about detours on account of intervening rivers, lakes, and marshes; and, therefore, I do not think that the actual distance could possibly have been more than 30 miles at most, if not less.

Now, I believe that I have discovered the site of *Râmagrâma* at the distance of 28 miles direct to the east-south-east, from *Bhuila Dih*, or *Kapilavastu*; but the road distance in travelling must be considerably over 30 miles.

Referring again to Quarter Sheet 87 N. E. of the Indian Atlas, at the intersection of longitude 83° with latitude 26°

45′ in Pergunnah *Mhowlee*, and 11 miles to the south-east from the town of Basti, it will be seen that there is a pear-shaped lake. About a mile and a half to the south-east from this lake, there are two villages called Nagra and Bhagwâpur (the *Bugwanpoor* of the maps). About half a mile to the south of Bhagwânpur, there is a village called Kuraon, or Korau, or Kurawa, which is situated at the eastern edge of a great mound of ruins, which is larger than the great Dih of Bhuila; but the Korau Dih has been more encroached upon by the plough. It is this extensive mound at Korau that I believe to have been the site of the ancient town of Râmagrâma.

According to Hwen Thsang, *Râmagrâma* was an ancient city which had, in his time, been long deserted. Hwen Thsang says that the *stûpa* of relics was nearly 100 feet high, and he places it to the south-east of the site of the town, near a tank of water, which was inhabited by dragons, or Nâgas, who guarded the stûpa. But I think that he has, as in several other cases, reversed the matter as to the position of the stûpa, and that he really meant to say that the site of the town was to the south-east of the stûpa: at least I have found a high mound of brick ruins at *Korau*, which measured about 20 feet up the slope, but, of course, much less in perpendicular height, and which is situated to the north-west of the great mound of ruins, which is the site of a large ancient town. Hwen Thsang also mentions that there was a monastery at some short distance from the stûpa, probably to the east of it.

The ancient name of the town, of which the great mound of ruins at Korau is the remains, is said to have been *Sobh-man-nagara*," which would mean "the city of the beautiful gem;" but as the term *man*, or *mani*, was commonly used by Buddhists for a "relic," *Sobh-man-nagara* would mean "the city of the excellent relic," and would thus have reference to the relic of Buddha enclosed in the great stûpa of *Râma-grâma*.[1]

The great mound of ruins at Korau measured about 2,100 feet in length from east to west, by about 1,400 feet in breadth from north to south. The bed of an ancient river runs past the south-west and south of the site of the ancient town. The ancient river, which formerly flowed in this now

[1] The present name of Koraun is probably a corruption of *Kor-rang*, meaning "at the edge of the Rang," or Rangili river, which is the old name of an ancient river bed which runs past it.

deserted bed is said to have been called either the *Rangili* or the *Rasári Nadi*. This ancient river bed comes from a long, narrow lake which lies to the south of Basti, and which is surrounded by the villages of Jatnapur, Bholka, Hatwa, Marwalean, Nagra, and Dewri. From this a channel runs south-east to a small lake at Sikra Pathon; and from thence the old channel runs south-east close past the south-west and south of Korau Dîh, and it eventually joins the *Katnaya* river, near a village called *Chirownea* about 2 miles to the north of Harharpur.

About 300 feet to the north-west of the great Dîh of Korau, there is a pretty high isolated mound of brick ruins, which is at present less than 15 feet high. On the top of this there is a large stone lingam of *Mahadeo*, and which is fixed upright in a large, square, horizontal stone, now called an *argha;* but the latter may very probably have been formed out of the coping stone of the stûpa; and the erect stone may, equally probably, be the remains of the usual stone pillar which was fixed in the top of most stûpas to support an ornamental stone cap, from the centre of which latter rose the stock of the stone umbrella. This so-called lingam, or pillar, on the top of this stûpa at Korau, is square at the lower part of it, and rounded on the upper part. Close to the east side of this mass of ruin there is a lake, which is called a sâgar, and which extends for about 1,700 feet eastwards, and which lies close to the north side of the great *Dih*, or site of the ancient town.[1] This lake, or *sâgar*, still remains pretty full of water, and I believe that it represents the tank, or lake of water, in which the Nâgas lived who kept guard over the stûpa, as described by the Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Huen Thsang.

To the north-east of the eastern end of the sâgar, and about 700 feet to the north-north-east of the eastern end of the Dih, or site of the town, there is a small mound of brick ruins, probably about 8 feet in height, and which measured about 58 feet horizontally each way, and on the top of this there is a stone lingam. About 220 feet to the west-north-west from this there is another small mound. Close to the north-north-east of these two mounds there is a

[1] See Plate XIII from my own survey of the site. I visited Koron-dih, and my account of the ruins will be found in Vol. XI. of the Archæological Survey.—A. Cunningham.

tank. This may probably be the site of the monastery which Huen Thsang mentions as having been in existence at Râmagrâma, and which appears to have been situated a short distance to the east of the great stûpa.

A little over 350 feet to the east-south-east from the mound with the lingam, and to the north-east of the site of the old town, there is another small mound with a lingam on the top of it, and close to the east side of it there is a small tank.

At a moderate distance to the south from this mound lies the village of *Korau*, at the eastern end of the great mound of the old city. Close to the south of the village there are the levelled remains of some former brick ruins, of small extent, now called Sameka *Thân*, and on this spot there are red clay figures of elephants placed.

About 1,100 feet to the south of the site of the old town, and on the south side of the old river bed, there are eight small mounds of brick, of which the two most westerly ones of the group are pretty high, and may possibly be the remains of stûpas. Close to the south of these small mounds of brick, there is a narrow and nealy dry bed of a small lake, which is called the "Harinâya Tâl." At the western end of this small lake bed, there is the village of Chanduwa, and to north of the village there is a small mound of ruins.

Lastly, on the western edge of the great Dih, or site of the old city, there is a somewhat conical-shaped mound of brick with a lingam on the top of it.

There are now three ancient wells on the top of the great Dih, two on the south-western part of it and one on the north-eastern-part of it; but there are said to have been formerly a great many more ancient wells which are now filled up and obliterated.

It will be observed that Huen Thsang states that the stûpa of relics at Râmagrâma was nearly 100 feet in height, and it may, therefore, probably have been about 80 or 90 feet in actual height; while the isolated mound of brick ruins which stands to the north-west side of Korau Dih was certainly less than 15 feet in height when last seen. If, therefore, Korau Dih is the site of Râmagrâma, and if this isolated mound of brick ruins is the remains of the famous relic stûpa, then it must have lost at least about 70 feet of its height.

But, although I have proposed Korau Dih as the site of Râmagrâma, the fact that I have not been able to identify the great relic stûpa described by Huen Thsang makes the matter still doubtful or uncertain. The stûpa may have been destroyed, or a Brahmanical temple may have been built on or out of its ruins, but still one would think that some recognizable traces of the base of the stûpa would have remained. In this part of the country, moreover, one is puzzled by the multiplicity of ancient sites, or the numerous mounds of ruins of various sorts and sizes, rather than by the want of them; and it so happens that I have discovered another large mound of ruins in the same pergunnah of "Mhowlee" in which Korau Dih is situated, and which I think possesses, at least, equal claims to be identified as the site of Râmagrâma.

This other site which I have to propose is called "Warâi Dih," a large mound of ruins which is situated about 20 miles to the south-east from Bhuila, or Kapilavastu, and about 5½ miles to the south-south-east from Basti. I may also here mention that the distance from "Warâi Dîh" to a mound of ruins near a place called "Mhenea" in the maps, which I have identified with the "Maneya" of the Buddhist traditions, is about 15 miles in an easterly direction.

I think that there cannot be any doubt that I have correctly identified the site of "Maneya" with a mound of ruins situated near a place the name of which is spelt "Mheneea" in the maps, but the real name of which is "Manîya," or "Mainîya," and which is situated near the Khûduwâ Nâdî," about 34 miles to the east-south-east from Bhuila, or Kapilavastu, and about 15 miles eastwards from "Warâi Dîh." Now, the distance of 15 miles from "Warâi Dîh" to "Mehneea," or Maniya, nearly agrees with the distance from "Râmagrâma" to "Maneya" given by the Chinese travellers, which is estimated at "3 *yoyanas*," or 21 miles by Fa-Hian, and at 100 li," or about 16⅔ miles by Huen Thsang. But unfortunately one cannot make up the distance between Râmagrâma and Maneya without lessening the distance from Kapilavastu to Râmagrâma. General Cunningham estimated the probable distance from Kapilavastu to Râmagrâma at about 28 miles, while, as I have stated, the actual direct distance from Bhuila Dîh to "Warâi Dîh," as measured on the map, is about 20 miles; but in travelling, the latter distance would become increased to fully

25 miles, as one cannot go straight, for the Küâno river would have to be crossed, and could only be crossed at some frequented ghât where there were ferry boats, and after that various detours would have to be made round numerous lakes and marshes which lie in the way; and as Huen Thsang appears to have visited *Kapilavastu* and its neighbourhood about the middle of the month of December, all the rivers and lakes would be pretty full of water, which I myself found to be the case in December 1875.

I have, however, another circumstance to bring forward in favour of "*Warâi Dîh,*" being the site of "*Râmagrâma;*" and that is, that about 3 miles to the south-west from *Warâi Dîh*, there is an old *ghât* at the Küano river, which is called the "*Deorâm Ghât;*" and near which there is a mound of ruins. Now the Sanskrit name of this *ghât* would, of course, be "*Deva Râma;*" and I, therefore, believe that it must have been so called because it was the *ghât* on the old road which led to *Râmagrâma*. It is also another significant fact, that about a mile and a quarter to the north of "*Warâi Dîh*" there is a village called "*Râmpur,*" or *Râmapura*. Thus, *Warâi Dîh* actually lies between two places called "*Deva Râma*" and "*Râmapura.*"

Warâi Dîh is situated at the south-eastern end of a lake called the "*Barka Tâl,*" and about half a mile to the south of a village called "*Baisukhiya,*" but the name of which is wrongly spelt as "*Dysookeea*" in the maps. The "*Dîh,*" or great mound of ruins, of *Warâi*, measured in extent about 1,500 feet in length, from east to west, by about 700 feet in breadth, from north to south, so that it must have been the site of a town of some size. But there are also several smaller mounds of ruins a short distance to the west of it. There is a large, ancient, octagonal-shaped well on the top of the great mound of *Warâi*.

The present village of *Warâi* is situated at a short distance to the south of the "*Dîh,*" or great mound.

At a distance of a little over 300 feet to the south-south-east from the *Dîh*, there is a small mound of brick ruins, with some trees growing on it, and which the people of the neighbouring village have adopted as their "*Samé-ka-Thân.*" From 500 to 600 feet to the west from the *Dîh*, there are three mounds of ruins, lying nearly in a row, or on a line running about north-north-east by south-south-west; and to the south of these mounds there is the dry bed of a small lake.

On the north-eastern bank of the "*Bar-ka-Tâl*," and at a short distance to the south-west of the village of *Baisukhiya*, there is a small mound of ruins. Lastly, about 300 feet to the west from the village of *Baisukhiya*, there is (or was lately, when last visited) an erect stone statue, which had lost the head. The height of the statue, when last seen, was about 2½ feet.

Now, it will be seen from the account I have given of the two preceding ruined sites, that I have apparently not been able to find any recognizable trace of the great "*stûpa of relics*" of *Râmagrâma*. Here, then, is a case in which a famous stûpa, nearly 100 feet in height, would seem to have been totally destroyed!

Before proceeding to a new subject, I would wish to make a few remarks and suggestions concerning the *Lan-mo* of Huen Thsang, which has been identified with the Râmagrâma of Buddhist traditions. This identification is, at most, a mere conjecture, and not a certainty; and we have not in reality any absolute proof whatever of the identity of the two places. It is, therefore, just possible that the Chinese compound "*Lan-mo*" may indicate some other place bearing a different name.

It will have been seen, at the commencement of my remarks in consideration of this particular subject, that I had at first proposed to identify a mound of ruins, called "*Koraun Dîh*," with the "*Lan-mo*" of Huen Thsang.

Now, the bed of an ancient river runs past *Koraun Dîh*, and the name of this river is by some called "*Rasâri*," and by others "*Rangili*." But the latter, the "*Rangili*," appears to have been the more ancient name; and it was the first name that I heard. Huen Thsang calls the place "*Lan-mo*," and I think this may simply be a Chinese equivalent for "*Rang-mau*," which would mean the point, or promontory, on the Rang river; and Rang-mau would be a very natural contraction for *Rengili-mau*.

Again, the name of the place is generally pronounced with a nasal termination, as "*Koraung Dih*;" and I think that this may really stand for "*Kor-Rang Dih*," which would mean the site on the edge of the Rang river, and which would, therefore, have much the same meaning as *Rangmau*, the promontory on the Rang river. Hence *Ragg-mau* would be synonymous with *Kor-Rang*; and I believe *Rang-mau* to be the real origin of the "*Lan-mo*" of Huen Thsang.

25.—MANEYA.

Prince Siddhârta, who was destined to be afterwards known as Buddha, becoming dissatisfied with his mode of life, decided to separate himself entirely from it and all its belongings, and to become an ascetic. He accordingly quitted his palace, at *Kapilavastu*, during the night, riding on a favourite horse, and accompanied by a single faithful attendant, named Chandaka.

The direction in which the Prince and his attendant travelled, would appear to have been about east-south-east. After some time they reached a river called either *Avami*, or *Anoma*, at a place called "*Maneya*," in a district called "*Anuvaineya*," and there the Prince leaped his horse across the river; and having arrived on the further side of it, he sent his attendant and horse back to *Kapilavastu*, and then proceeded on his pilgrimage alone.

Now the identification of this place, *Maneya*, is of importance, as the distance and position of several other places further eastwards are dependent on it. According to the most reliable authorities, *Maneya*, or the river at which it was situated, would appear to have been about 42 miles distant, by road, eastwards, from *Kapilavastu*.

I am happy to be able to state that *Maneya* still exists; but the name is mis-spelt in the maps as "*Mheneea*." This "*Mheneea*," or *Maneya*, is situated about 34 miles direct to the east-south-east from *Bhuila Dîh*, or *Kapilavastu*, but in travelling by road it would be about 40 miles; and it is about 6 miles direct, due east, from *Korau Dîh*, which I have identified with Râmagrâma. Huen Thsang makes the distance from *Râmagrâma* to the Anoma river 100 *li*, or about 16⅔ miles, which is just about 10 miles too much in exaggeration of the real distance, if we identify *Râmagrâma* with *Korau Dîh;* for the direct distance from *Korau* to the bank of the river, beyond *Mheneea*, or *Maneya*, is about 6 miles. But if we identify *Râmagrâma* with *Warâi Dîh*, then the distance from Warai to *Mheneea*, or Maneya, is about 15 miles direct, which agrees with Huen Thsang's account.

The old town of *Maneya* is situated about two-thirds of a mile to the south-east from the present village; and here there is a mound of ruins. The direct distance of this mound of ruins from *Korau Dih*, or *Râmagrâma* is about 6½ miles, while it is about 16 miles in distance from Warâi Dîh.

But *Mheneea*, or *Maneya*, is not situated on the Ami river, which has been supposed to be the *Anoma;* but it is situated on the right, or west, bank of a tributary or feeder of the *Ami*, called the "*Khüdua*," or "*Khûdawâ nadi*," which joins the Ami river about a mile and three-quarters to the south of *Maghar*. Now the name of the river "*Khûdawâ*" may either be a Hindi corruption of the Sanskrit *kshûdra* meaning "small," which would agree with the Sanskrit *avami*, "inferior;" or, if the name of the river be written Kudua, or Kûdwâ, it might be connected with the Hindi verb *kûdua*, "to leap," and would thus mean "the river of the leap," which would refer to the fact that Prince Siddhartha leaped across it with his horse. The distance from the Khudua nadi at Maneya, to the nearest part of the Ami nadi, just below Maghar, is about 5 miles; but I have already stated that the two rivers unite about a mile and three-quarters to the south of Maghar.

If the ancient name of this Khuduâ nadi was "Anoma," then it is simply a nearly synonymous equivalent for the name of Maneya; for, in Sanskrit, *anâvama* means "without inferiority, superior, respectable;" and *mânya* means "honorable," "respectable;" and therefore to call the river "Anavama," or "Anauma," would be equivalent to calling it the Manya, Mânîyâ, or Mânéyâ, river. The local pronunciation of the name of the present village of Maneya (the "Mheneea" of the maps) sounds, like "Mainîya," or "Mehniya," or "Maineeya," and therefore the tract of country situated along the river of "Maineya" would be called in Sanskrit Anu-maineya, which may be the origin of the Anuvaineya of the Buddhist traditions.

The old town of Maneya is situated less than a mile to the south-east from the present village; and on this site there is a pretty large mound of ruins. This is best known, locally, under the name of "Tamèswar Dih," because there is a famous lingam of Mahâ-deo, under the name of "Tameswar Nâth," on the mound. There is also a large square-shaped tank on the mound, which is called "Taméswar Sagar." Now "Mân" is a name of the Lingam, or Phallus; and which may, therefore, possibly be the origin of the name of "Mâneya."

There are also some traces of ruins a short distance to the east of Tameswar Dih, at a small village which is inhabited by jogis. This is probably the village which is marked in the maps under the name of "Jukka," about a mile to the south-east of the village of Maneya (the "Mheneea" of the maps).

The Khuduâ nadi is evidently the remains, or bed, of an ancient river, which was formerly much larger, or a more full and more permanent stream than it is now; but the main course of the supply of water has shifted further westwards, towards a new channel, called the "Katnaya nadi," which now flows at the distance of about 2½ miles to the westwards, running past Harharpur, and now joins the lower Kuano river, opposite a village called Padri, 4 miles to the south of Harharpur. But further north, where the road from Basti to Maghar crosses both the Katnaya and the Khuduâ, there is another intermediate channel, or water-course, which lies about half-way between the Katnâya and the Khûduâ.

As it is well known that the tendency of all rivers which flow from north to south is to shift westwards, on account of the motion of the earth round its axis, from west to east, it is evident that the Ami river, which flows past Maghar, cannot possibly be an old bed of the Rapti, which flows, further eastwards, past Gorakhpur! But the upper part of the Ami, just above Maghar, may be looked upon as the primitive, or original, bed of the Khuduâ nadi: the Khudua may be looked upon as the ancient bed of a stream which cuts the nalla, which runs past "Oonta" (Unta), "Boojinee" (lûjnî), and "Jugdeespoor" (Jagdispur); this latter nalla may be looked upon as an old bed of the Katnaya river: and the Katnaya is really fed from a large lake, near "Oomruh" (Umrah), which originally formed part of an old channel of the Kuano or Kuani river, which must at some former period have run further eastwards, to beyond the village of "Kopal," to the south-east of Bhânpur Thana, before it turned southwards; and even now the old course of the river can be traced in that direction; and when flooded during the rainy season, the water fills this part of the old bed to the south-east of Kopal, and then breaks out down south-wards into the two channels which lie respectively on the west and east of "Oomruh," or Umrah.

The Rapti, also, like all the other rivers which run in a similar direction, has evidently been encroaching westwards; and the great lake called the Bakra Tâl, or Budaneh Tâl, was originally formed by the Rapti breaking ground in a south-westerly direction, which is said to have swamped and overwhelmed a great ancient city, the ruins of which are supposed to be buried in the lake. It is just possible that it may have been this story which the Ceylonese chroniclers got hold of and transferred to Râmagrâma, when they stated

that the stûpa of relics at Râmagrâma had been washed away by a river. And it is, therefore, a somewhat remarkable coincidence with this, that the direct distance from Bhuila, or Kapilavastu, to the Bakra Tâl, is just about $33\frac{1}{2}$ miles east; while Fa-Hian makes the distance from Kapilavastu to Râmagrâma 5 *yoyanas*, or about 35 miles east, and Huen Thsang makes it 200 *li*, or about $33\frac{1}{3}$ miles east.

I have not as yet been able to carry my explorations any farther east than "Maneya," and therefore the following sites have still to be discovered and identified, namely;—

I.—The stûpa of "Chandaka-nirvattana," or "Chandaka's return," which marked the spot where Prince Siddhârta dismissed his attendant Chandaka and his horse after he had crossed over to the eastern side of the Anoma river.

Now, the distance of 100 *li*, or $16\frac{2}{3}$ miles, from Râmagrâma eastwards, given by Huen Thsang, was evidently calculated to this stûpa of "Chandaka's return," and not to Maneya, or the Anoma river, at all. I would, therefore, be inclined to identify the site of the Chandaka-nirvatana stûpa with a place called "Chandbhâri," the "Chund baree" of the maps, which is situated on the east bank of the Ami river, 12 miles direct to the east-north-east from Korau Dîh, which I have identified with Râmagrâma, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-east from Maneya.

II.—At some moderate distance to the east of the Chandaka-nirvattana stûpa, there was a second small stûpa raised on the spot where Prince Siddhârta took off his royal garments, made of the fine cloths of Kâsi (Banâras), and exchanged his dress with that of a hunter (who is fabled to have been Brahma). This stûpa was called "Kâsâya-grahan." I would be inclined to identify this site with a village called, "Bhîta," which means "the mound," which is situated just 3 miles due east from Chanbhâri.

III.—Lastly, at a moderate distance (perhaps to the north-east) from the Kâsâya-grahan stûpa, there was a third stûpa, called the "Chuḍa-mani stûpa," or "Chuḍa-pati-grahan," which marked the spot where Prince Siddhârta cut off his hair locks, called "*chuda*." I would be inclined to identify this site with a village called "Chudrao," which is situated about 4 miles to the north-north-east from Bhîta.

If I am right in my identification of "Chudrao," the further onward course of Prince Siddhârta, or Buddha, south-

eastwards from thence, must have been by way of "Pâti" (the "Patee" of the maps), Ghasand, and Gorakhpur.

The only other alternatives that I am at present able to offer, in place of the conjectural sites which I have proposed above, are the following: It is just possible that, after crossing the Khuduwa Nadi, or Anoma, at Maneya (or "Mheneea"), Buddha may have gone, by the old road, straight to Maghar, and there crossed the Ami Nadi, and from thence he may have gone due eastwards by way of the present villages of Koos-Powal and "Bhetee," or Bhiti; and in that case the stûpa of Chandaka's return may have been at Bhiti (the "Bhetee" of the maps); and the stûpa which marked the spot where Buddha exchanged his garment of Kâsi cloth with those of a hunter may have been at Kayssho-koora, 3 miles to the east-north-east from Bhiti (Bhetee); and the stûpa of the cut hair may have been at the village of Judean, about a mile and a half to the south-south-east from Kayshokoora; and from the last-named place, Buddha would have gone (as in the other case) due east to Gorakhpur.

From the last-named stûpa of the "cut hair," the Chinese travellers proceeded in a south-easterly direction to a stûpa which was raised by the people of an ancient town, who were of the Moriya tribe, to contain the charred ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre. Fa-Hian makes the distance from the "stûpa of the cut hair" to the "ashes stûpa" 4 *yoyanas*, or only about 28 miles, while Huen Thsang makes it 180 or 190 *li*, or from 30 to 32 miles; but as the distances given by the Chinese travellers were the road distance in travelling, the actual direct distance could not have been much over 25 miles, and therefore it is about at this distance that we must look for the "ashes stûpa."

General Cunningham has identified the ruins of an ancient city named "Sahankat," somewhere about a mile and a half to the north-west of "Rudrpur," as the site of the city of the Moriyas, who built the "ashes stûpa." But the distance is too great for the "ashes stûpa," if "Chudrao" be the site of the stûpa of the cut hair, as Rudrpur is 40 miles to the south-east from "Chudrao," and therefore the distance of Sahankat cannot be less than 35 miles. Consequently, in that case, the "ashes stûpa" must have been at some considerable distance to the north-west of Sahankat.

On the other hand, if the stûpa of the cut hair was somewhere about the village of Judean, near Kayshopoor, then Rudrpur is 32 miles distant to the south-east from Judean,

and therefore the "ashes stûpa" would have to be at least about 4 or 5 miles to the north-west of Rudrpur, or some 3 or 4 miles to the north-west of Sahankat.

The Burmese and Ceylonese chronicles make the "ashes stûpa" to have been situated in a forest of pipal trees; while, according to Tibetan authorities, it was situated in a forest of Nyagrodha trees. But Huen Thsang, who visited the spot himself, states positively that the "ashes stûpa" stood in a "forest of Nyagrodha trees."

Now, the common Hindi name of the "Nyagrodha tree" is *bargad*, or *bar*; and at the distance of about 25 miles to the south-east from Chudrao, or about 22 miles to the south-east from Judean near Kayshokoora, and about 12 miles to the south-east of Gorakhpur, and about 10 miles to the north-west of Rudrpur, there are still the remains of a forest of *bar* trees; and in this very locality there are three villages all named after the *bar* tree, namely "Barhehi," "Barrehi," and "Barhaira." It appears to me, therefore, that the "ashes stûpa," must be looked for in the neighbourhood of these three villages, which are distinguished by the name of the "Bar" tree, which represents the Sanskrit Nyagrodha, about 10 miles to the north-west of Rudrpur, or about 8 miles to the north-west of the ruins of Sahankat.

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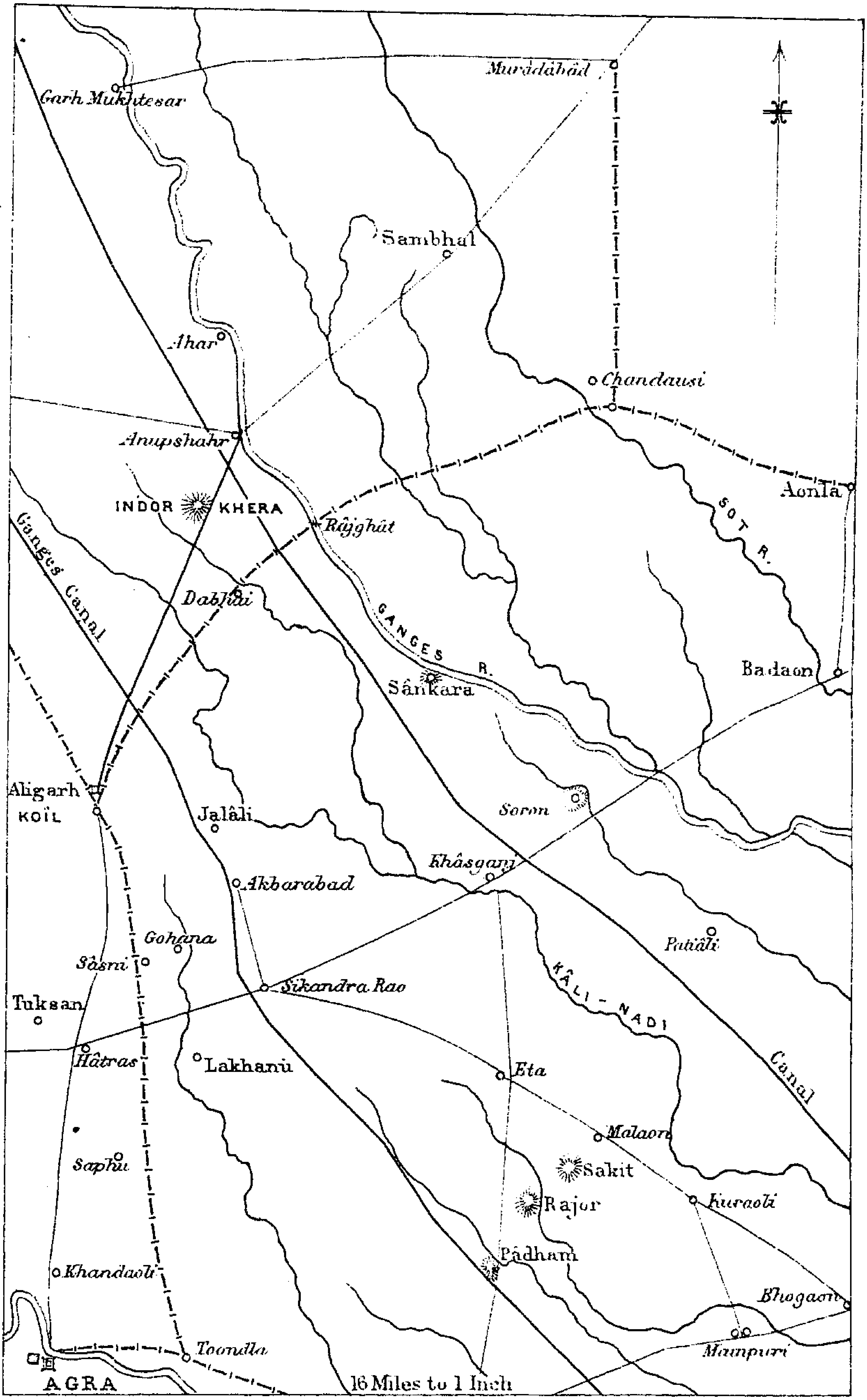

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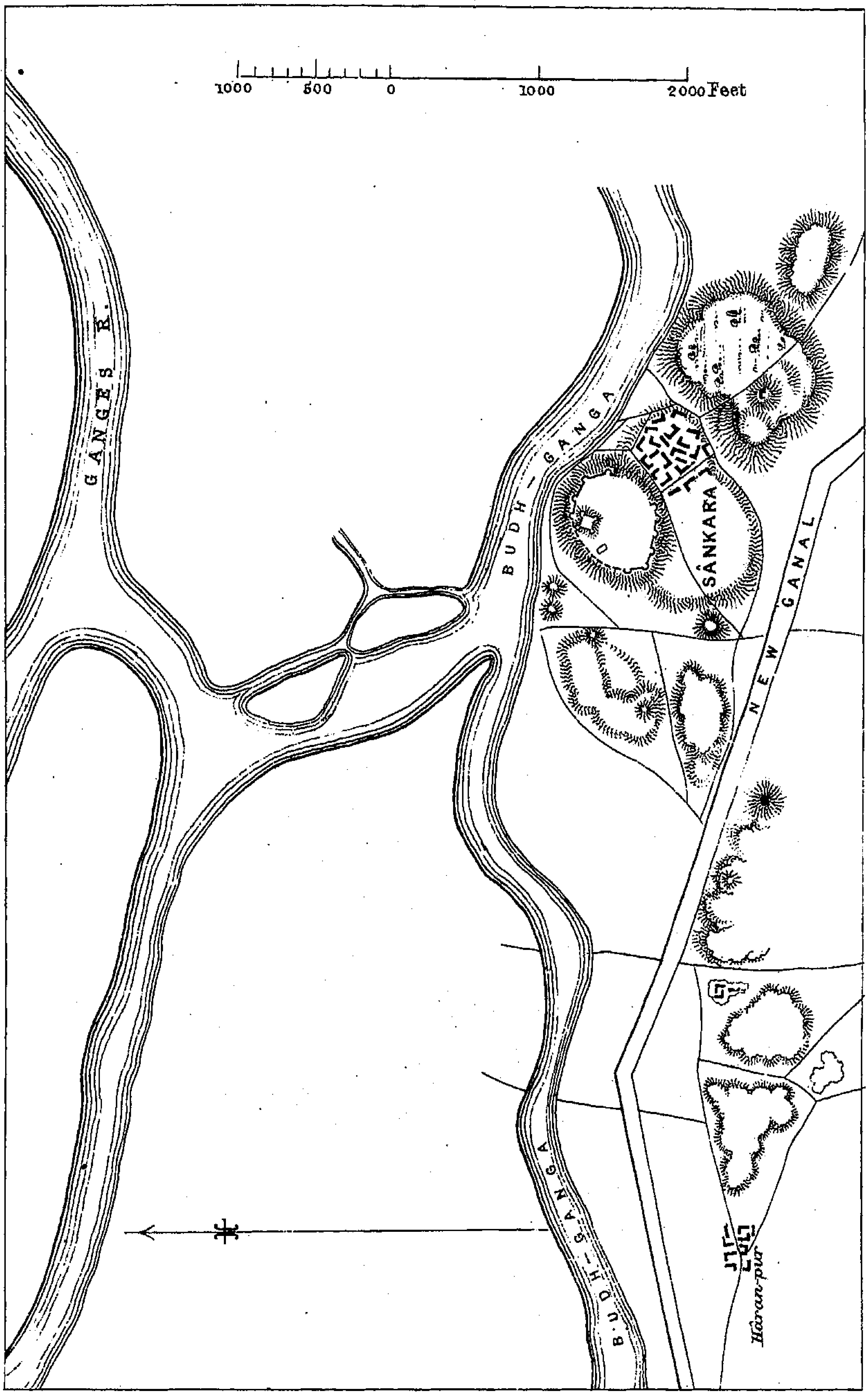

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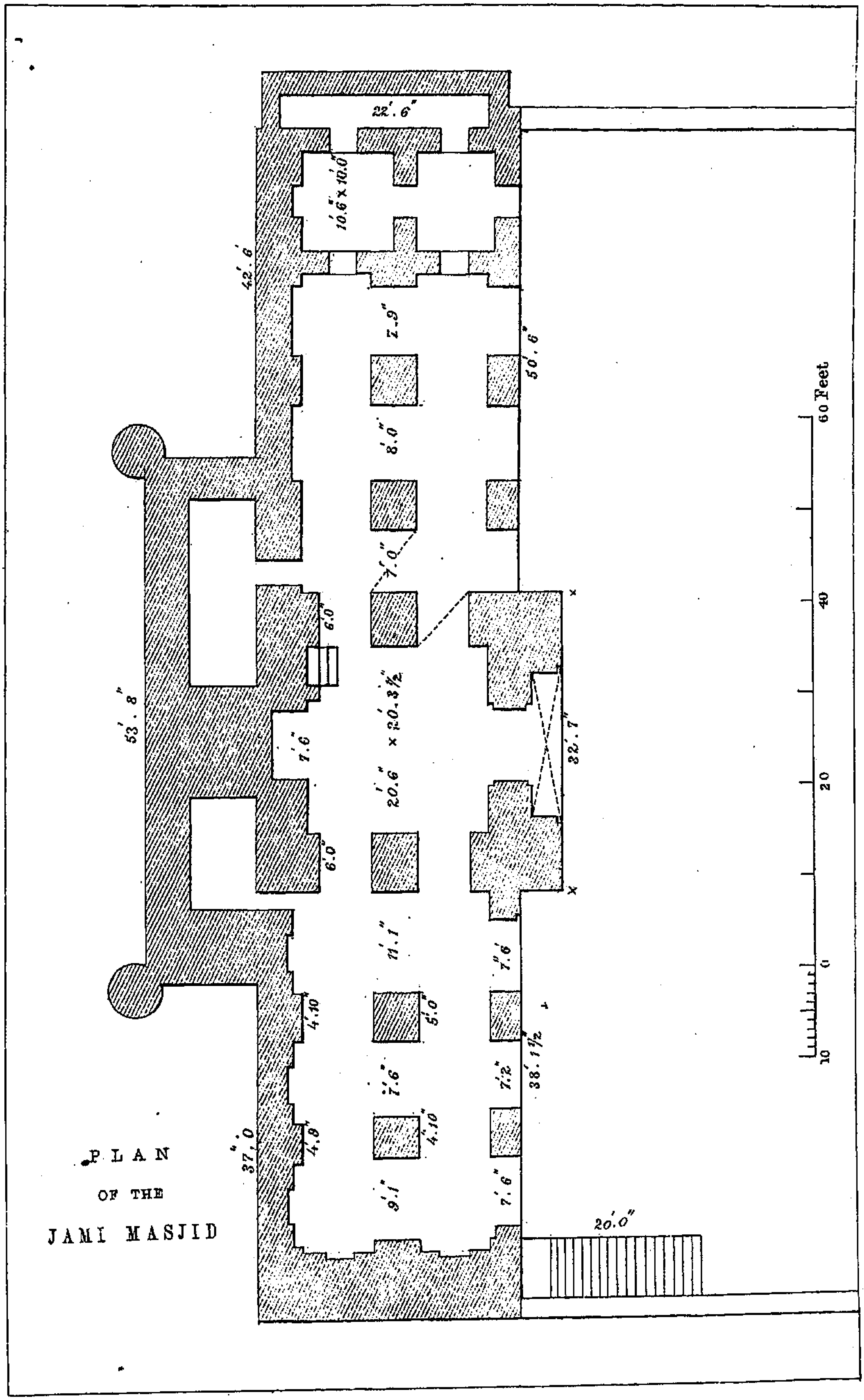

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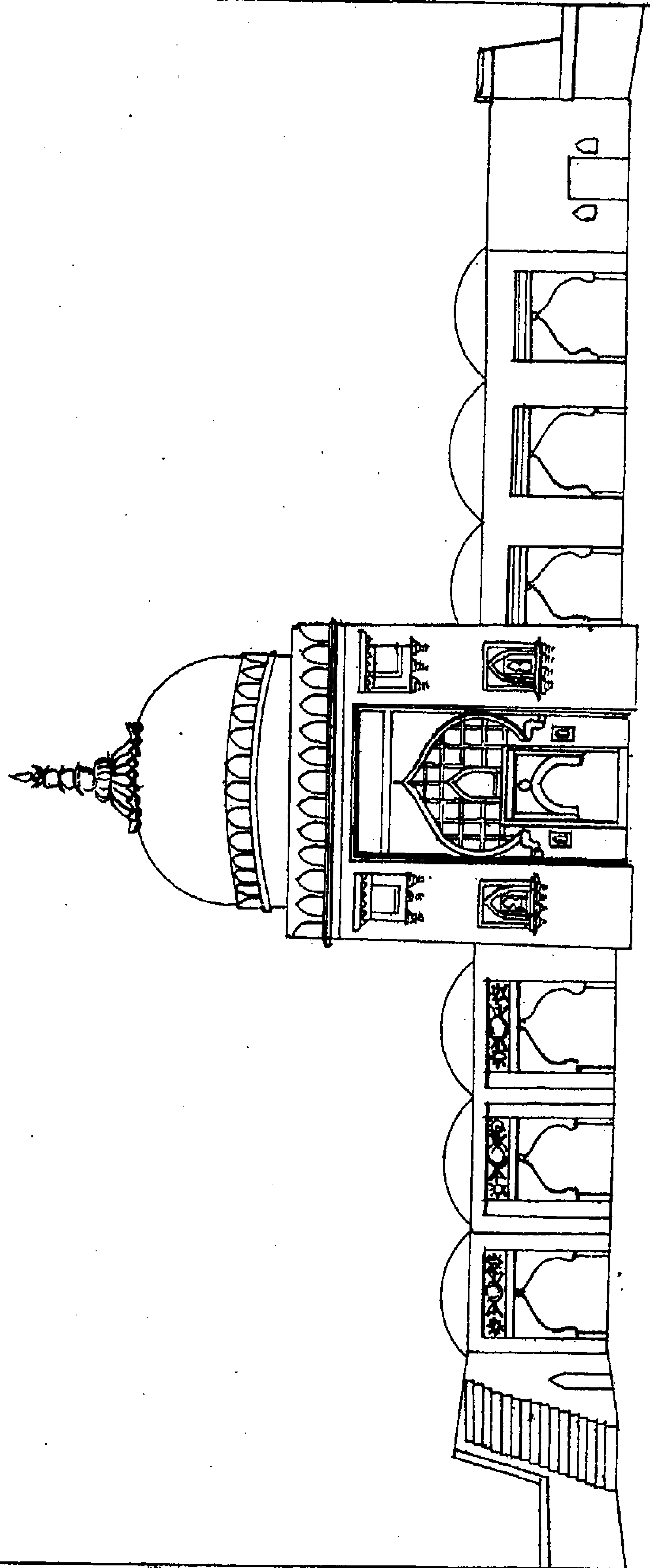

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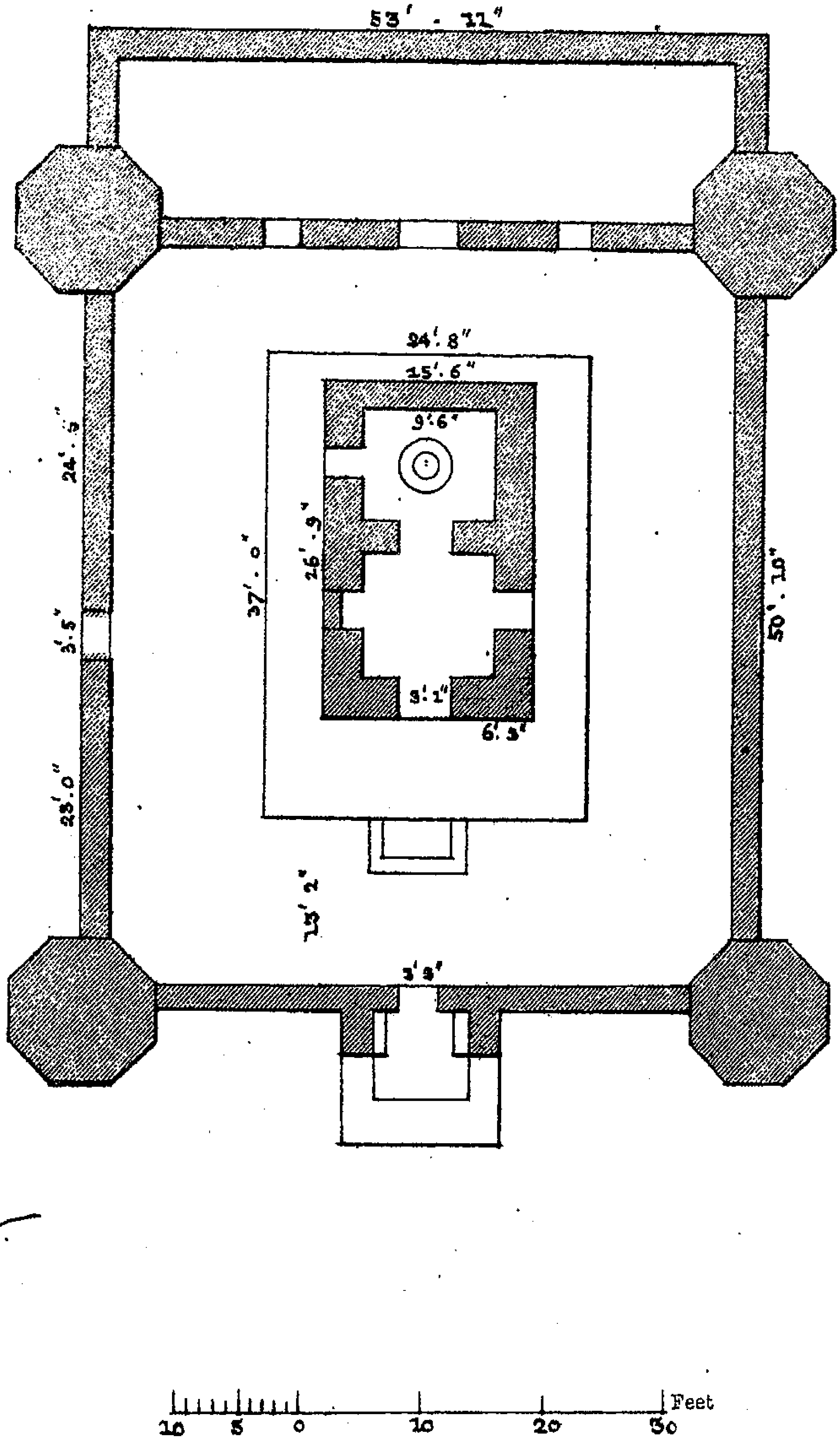

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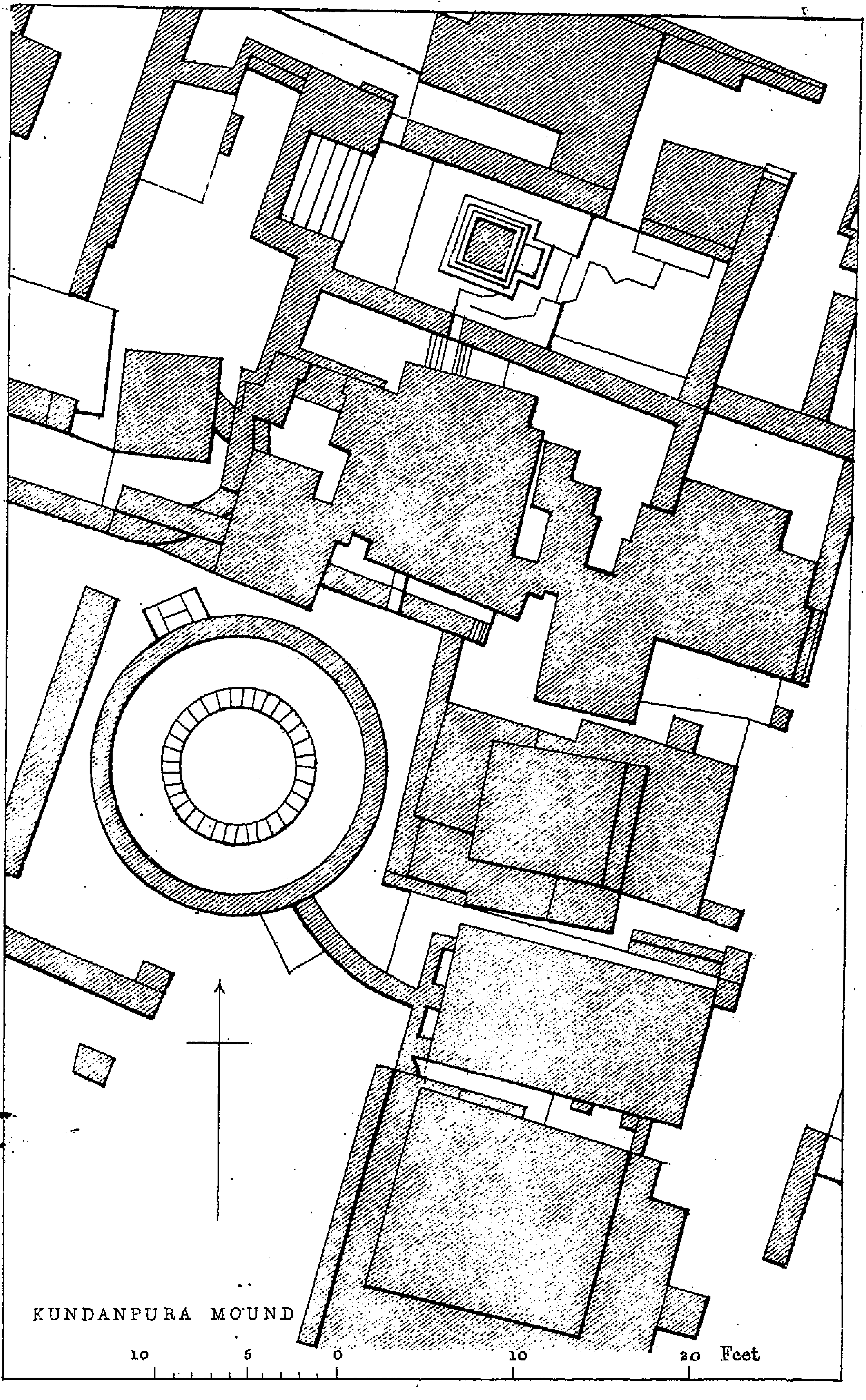

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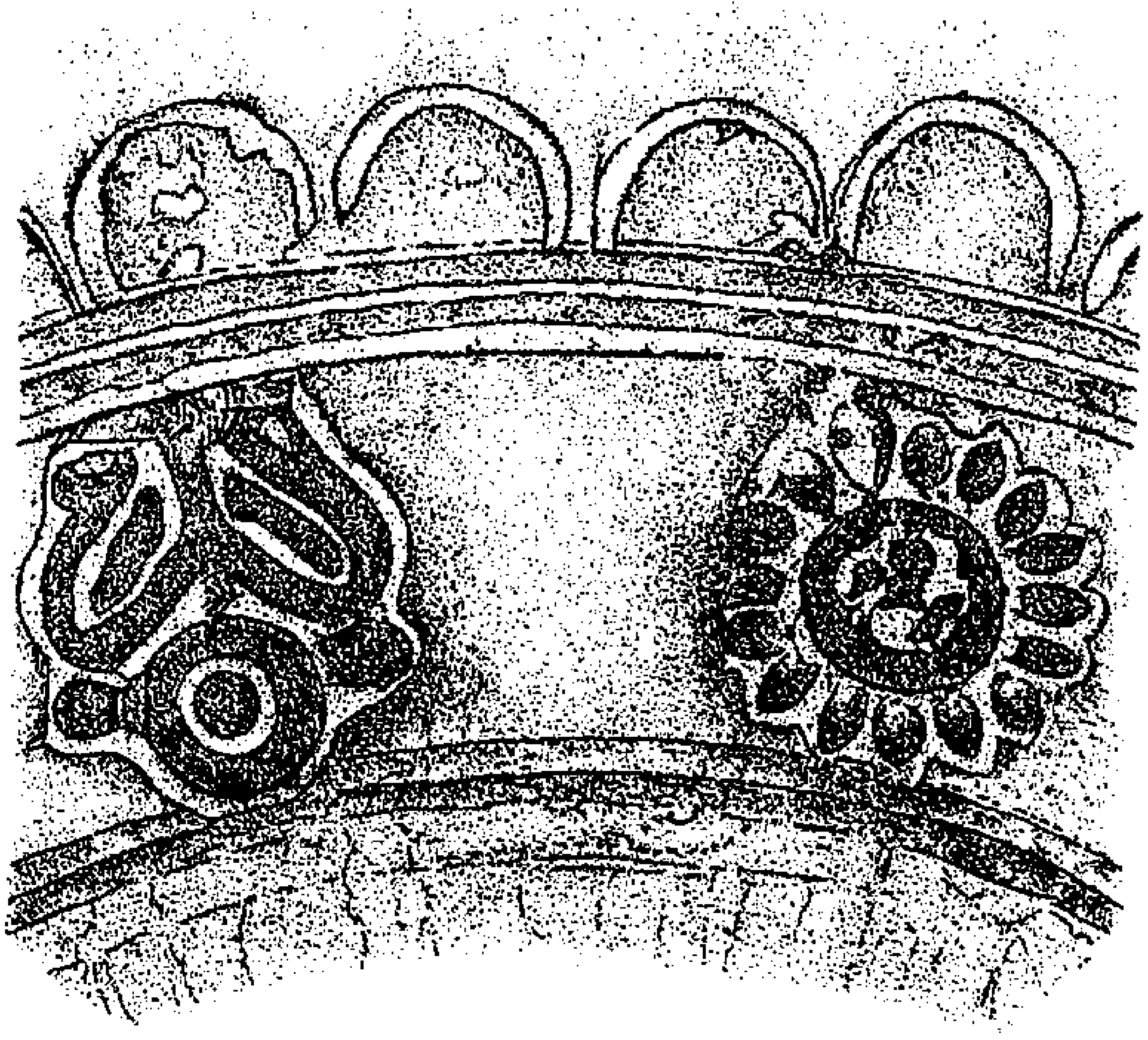

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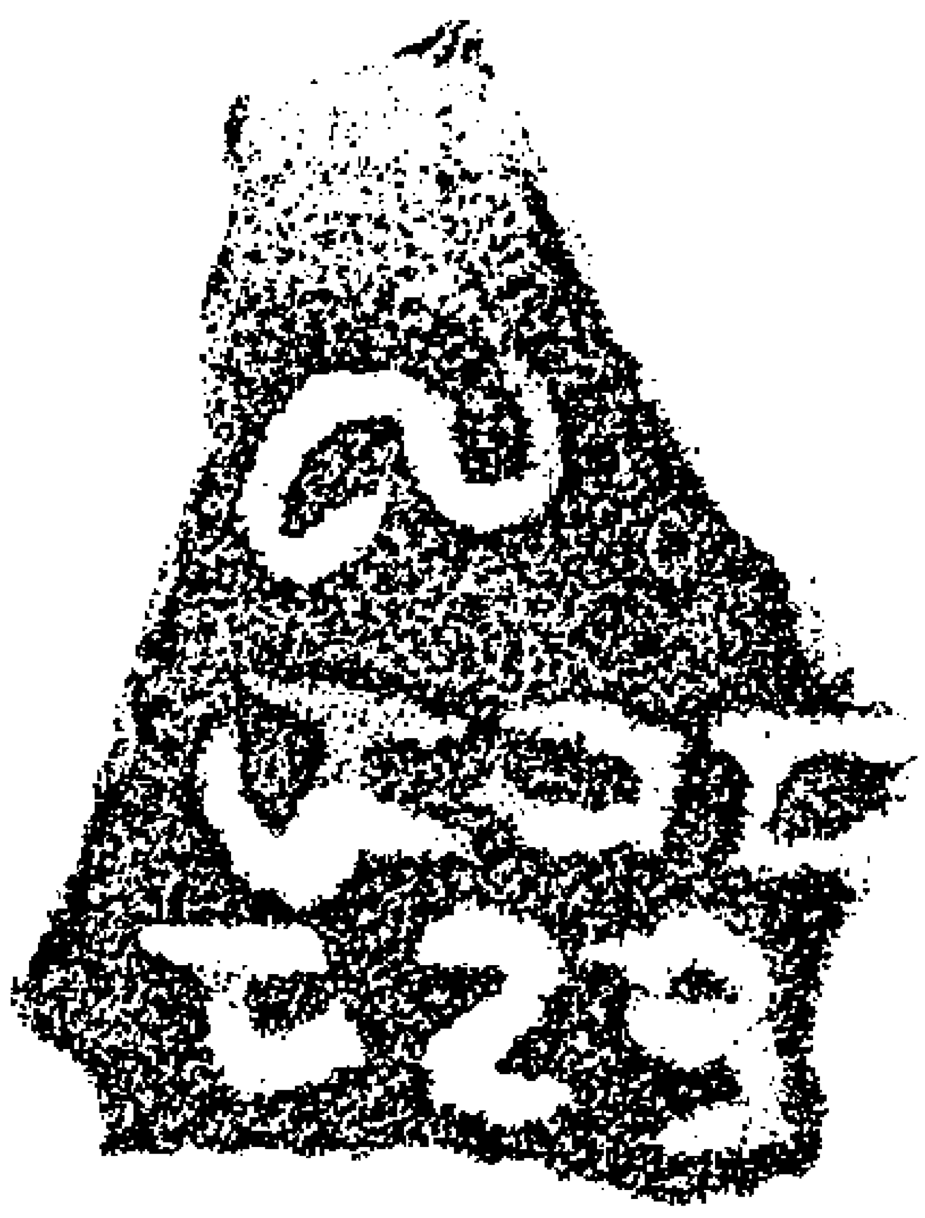

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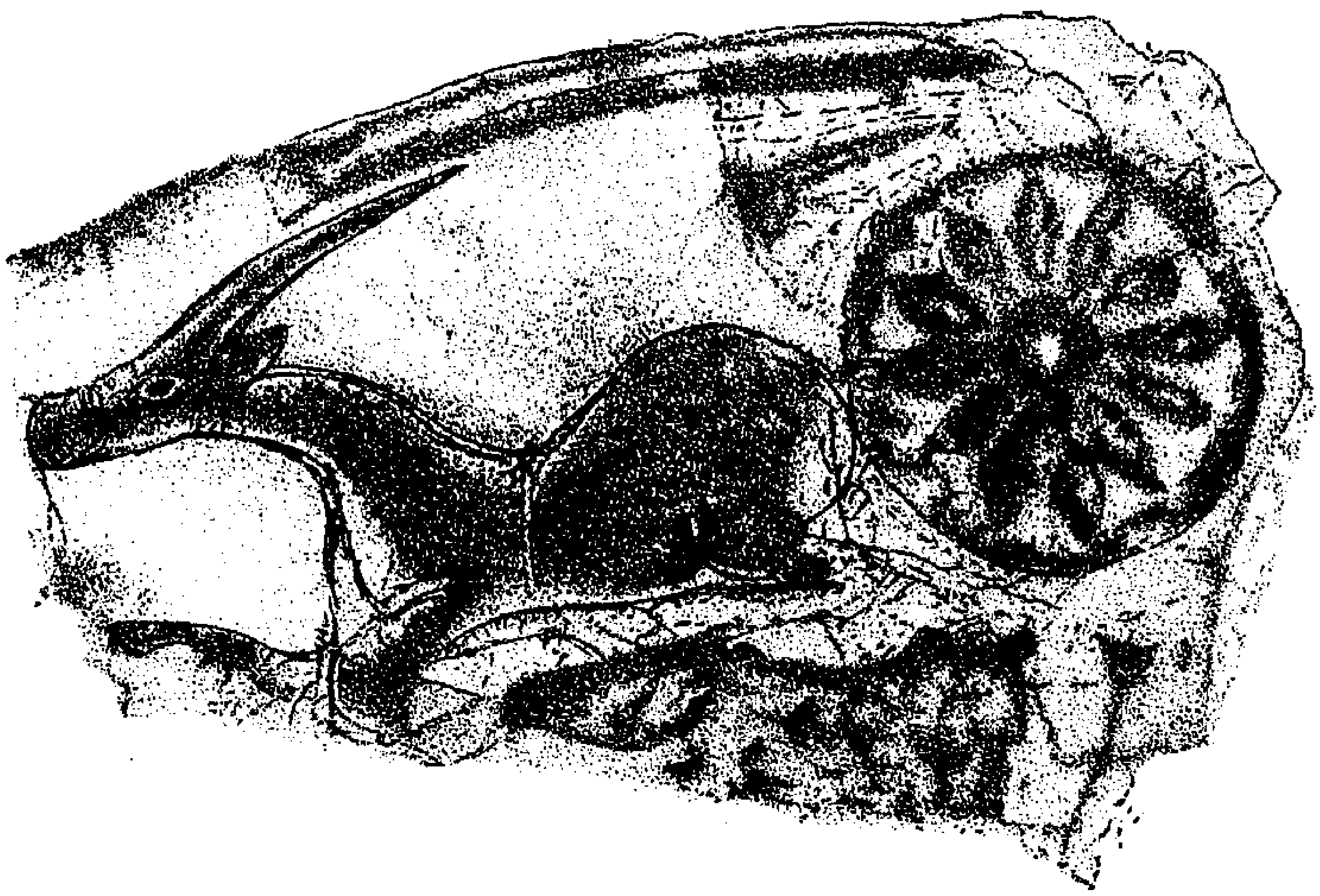

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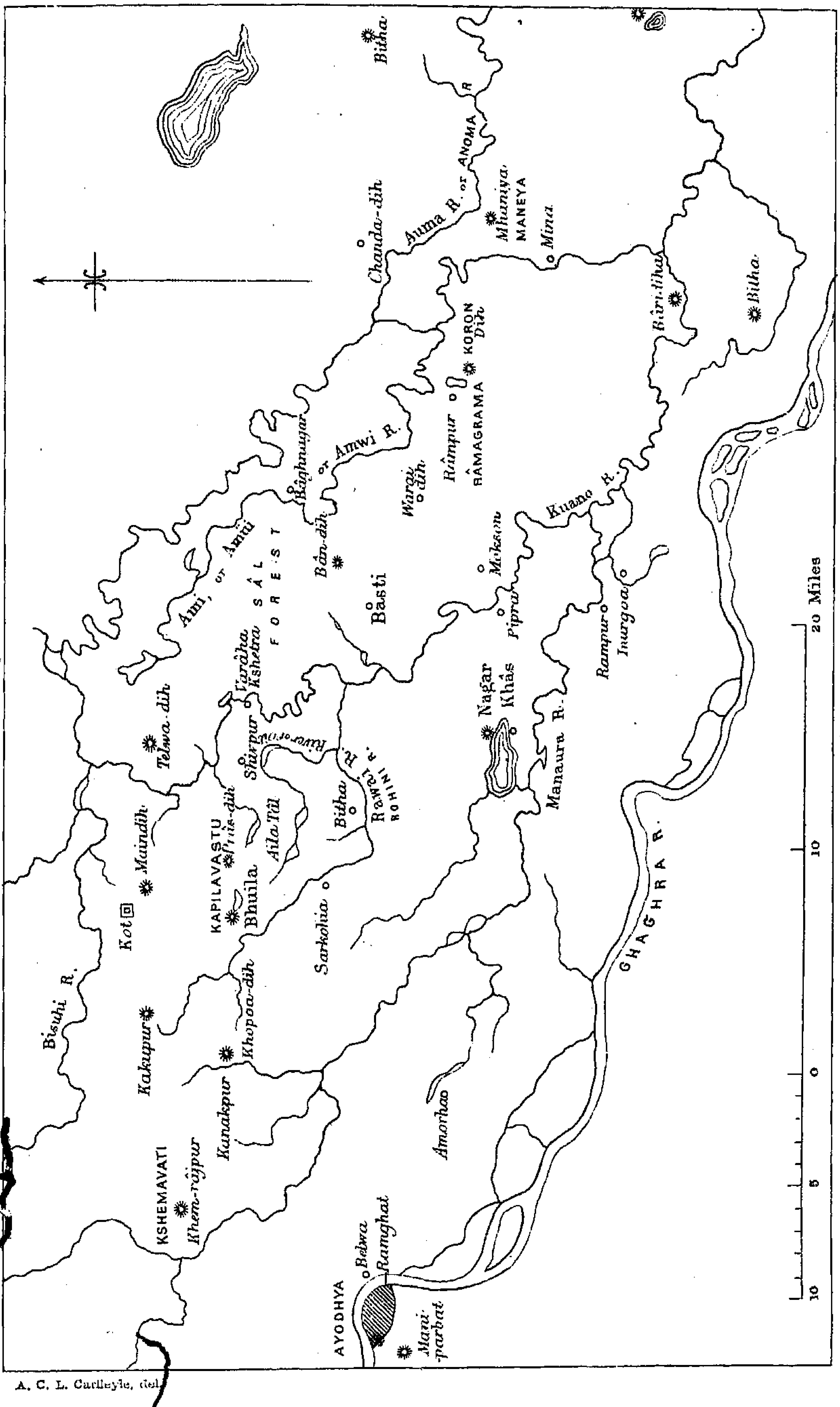

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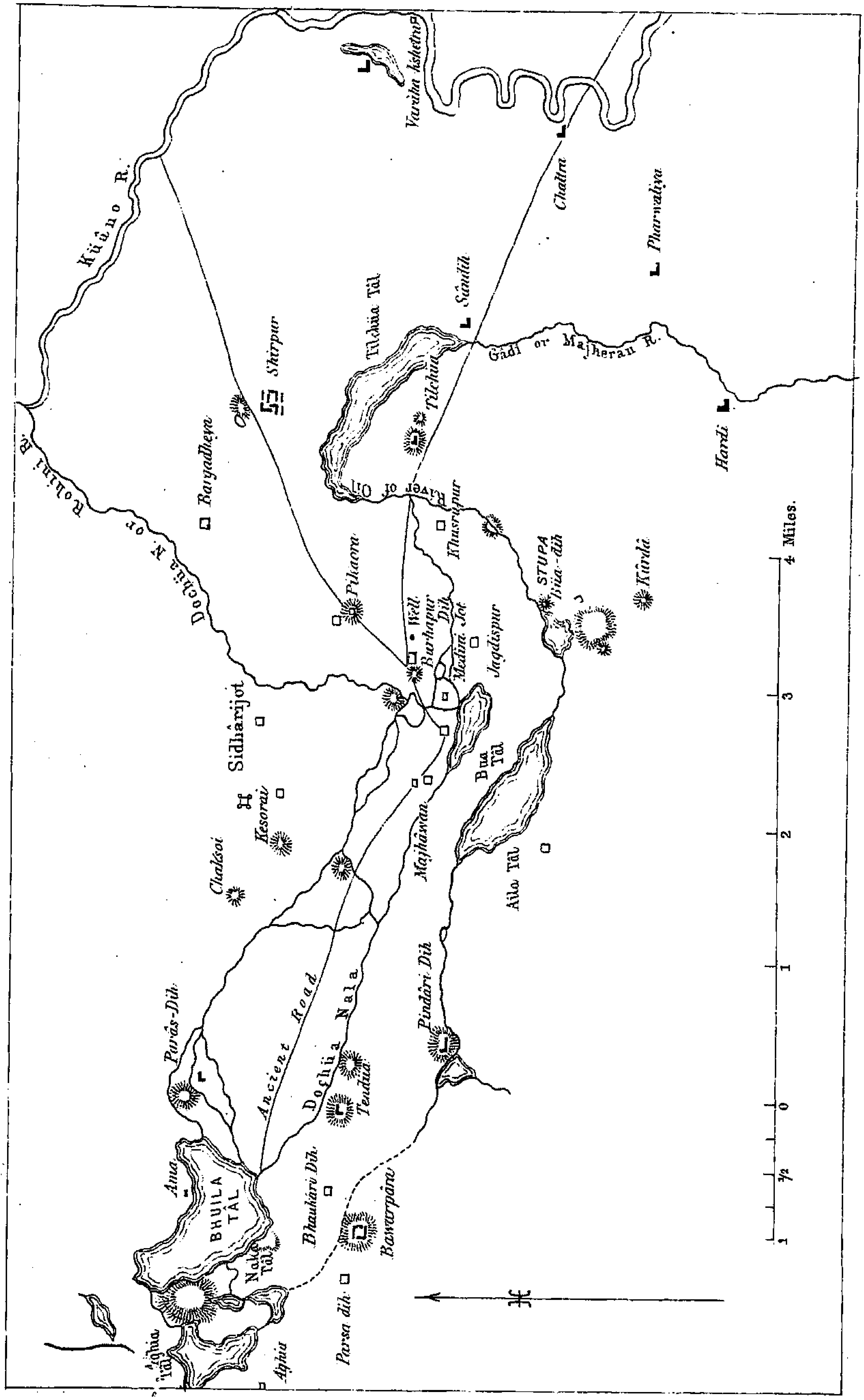

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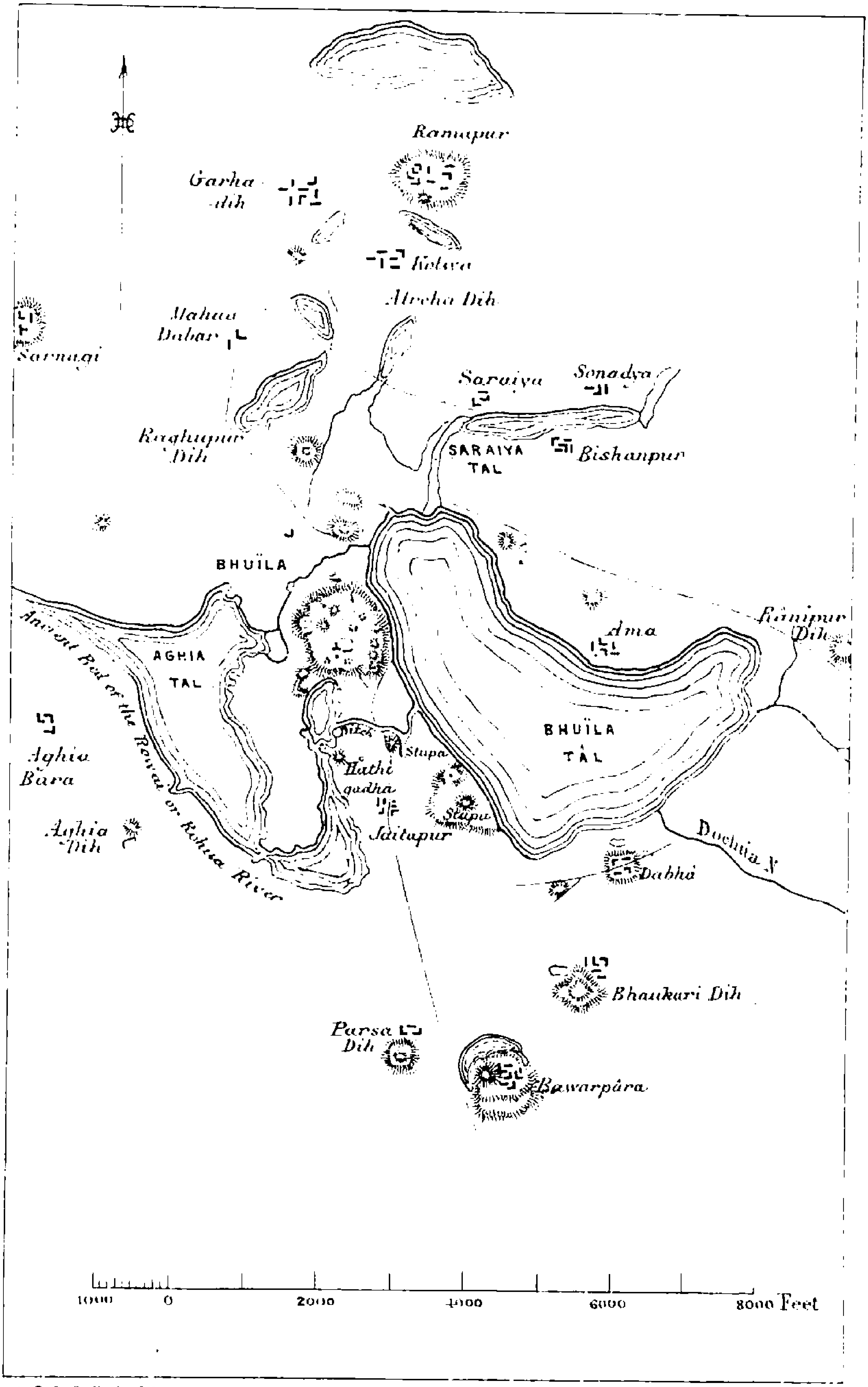

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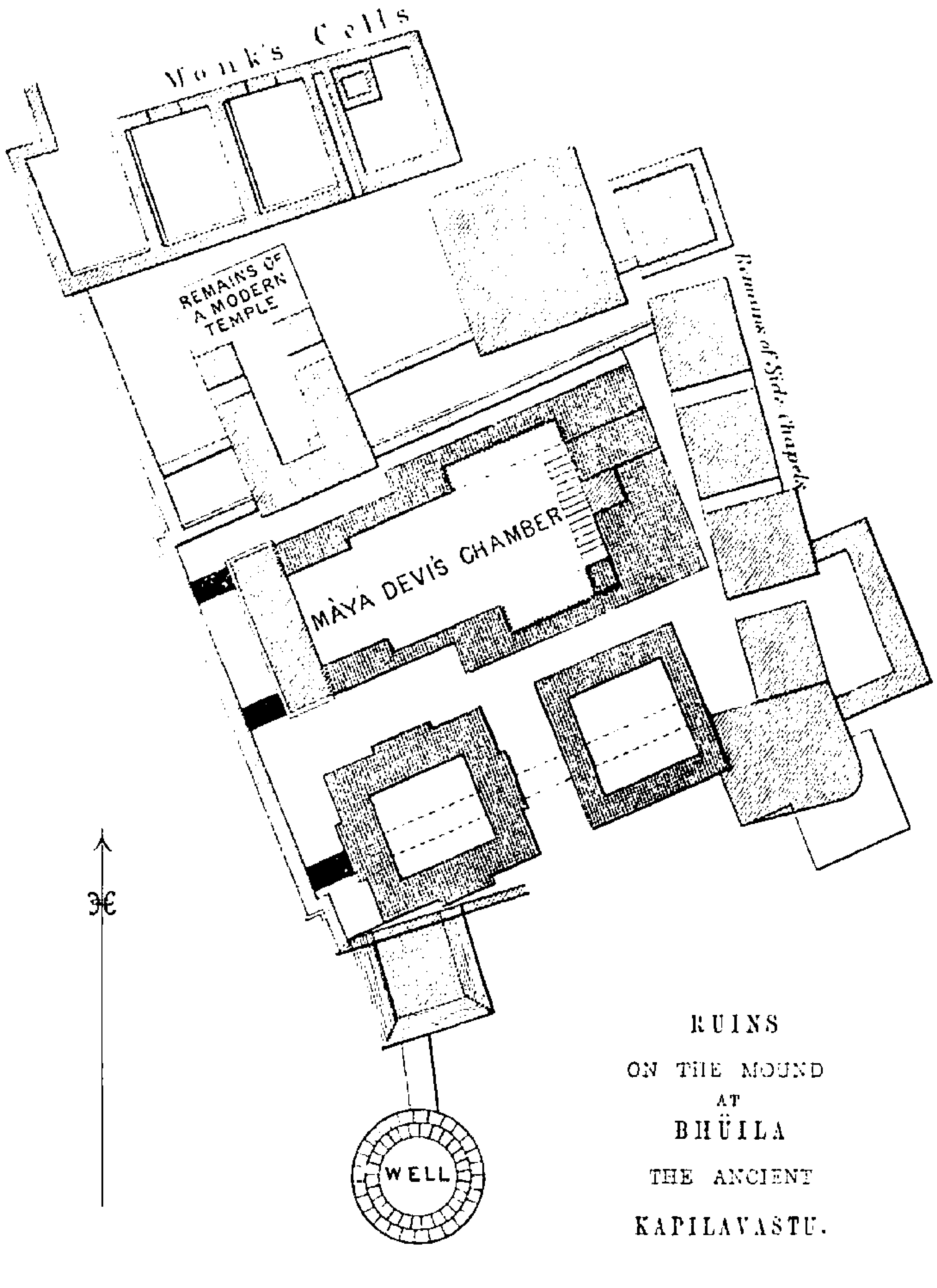

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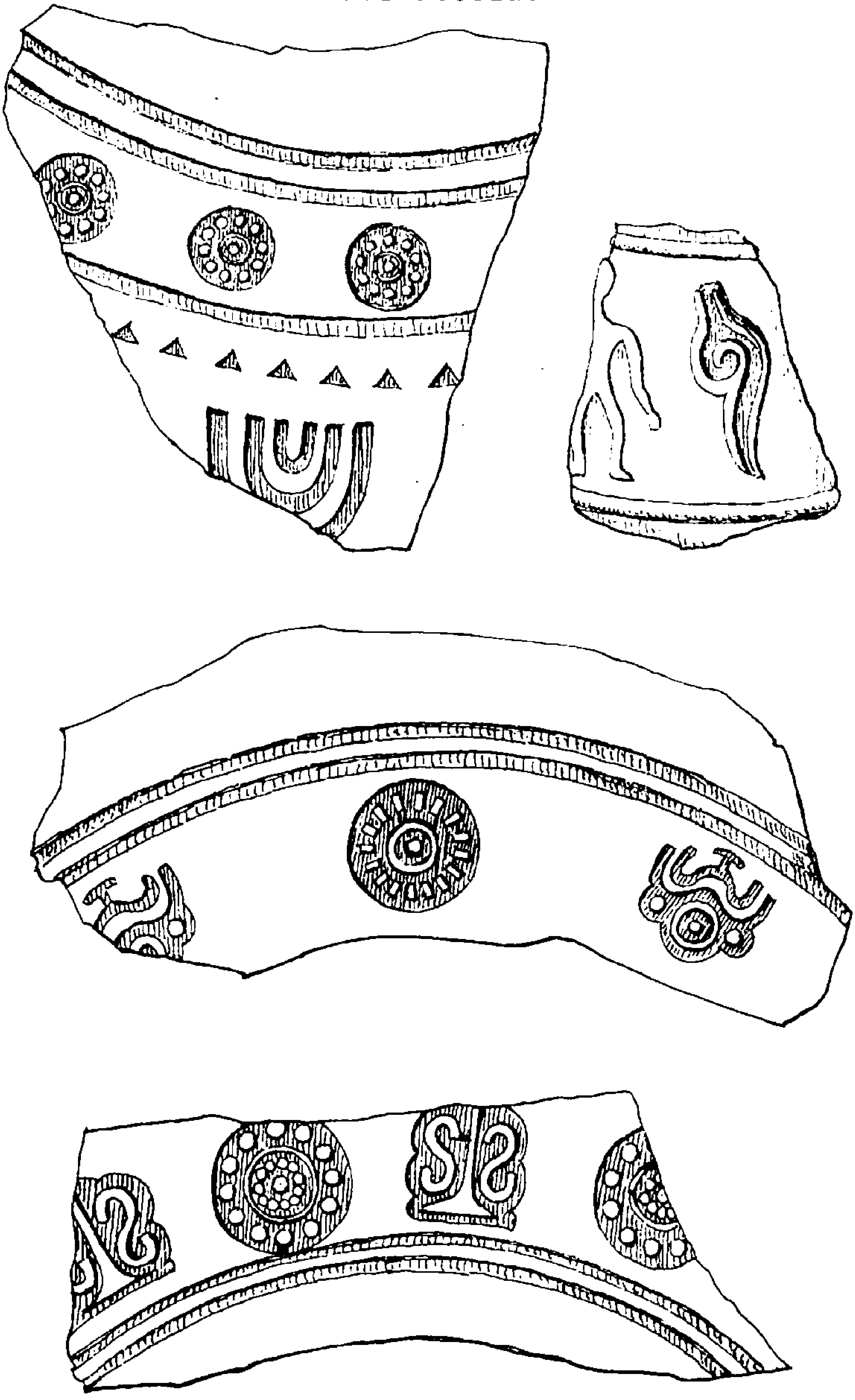

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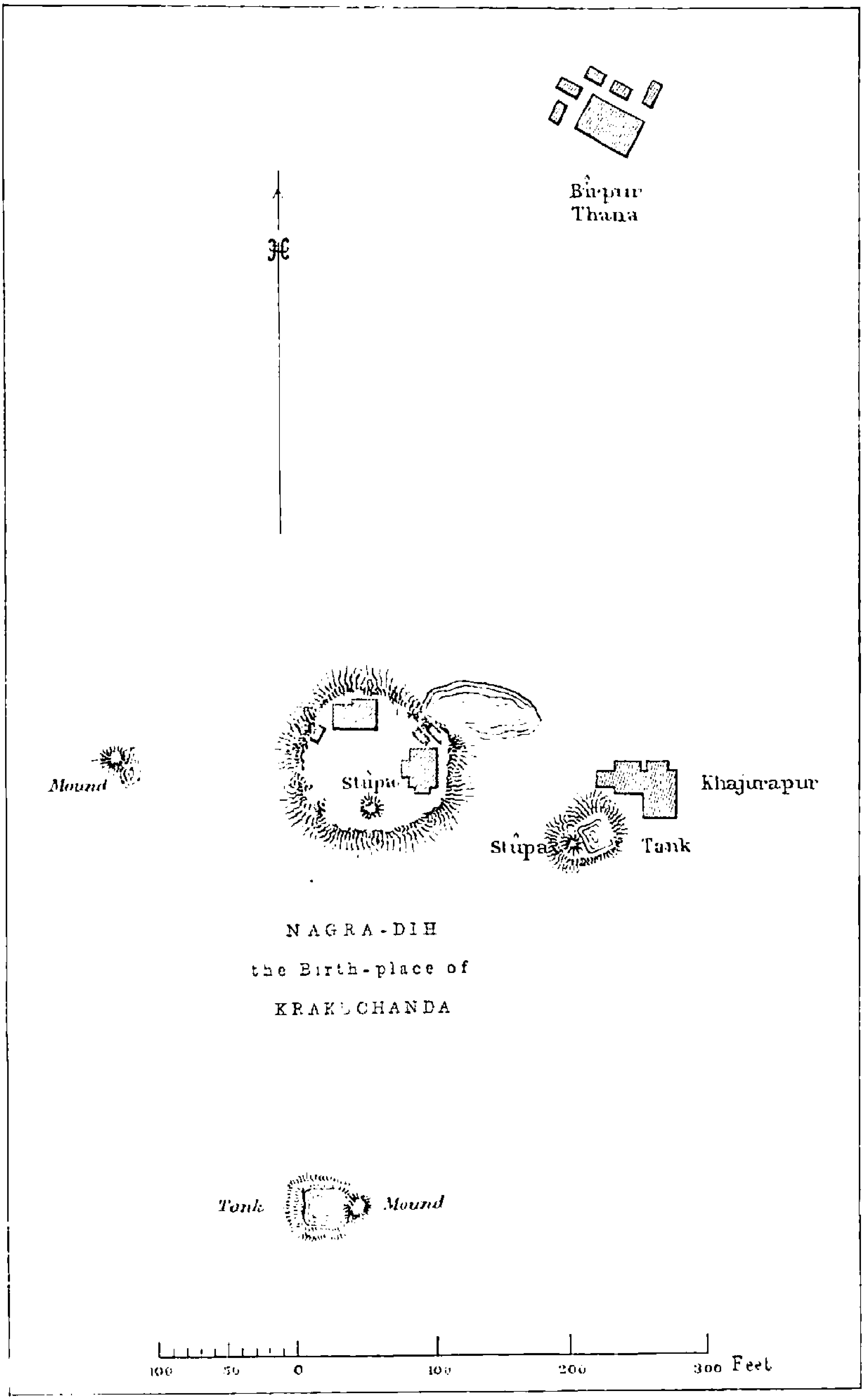

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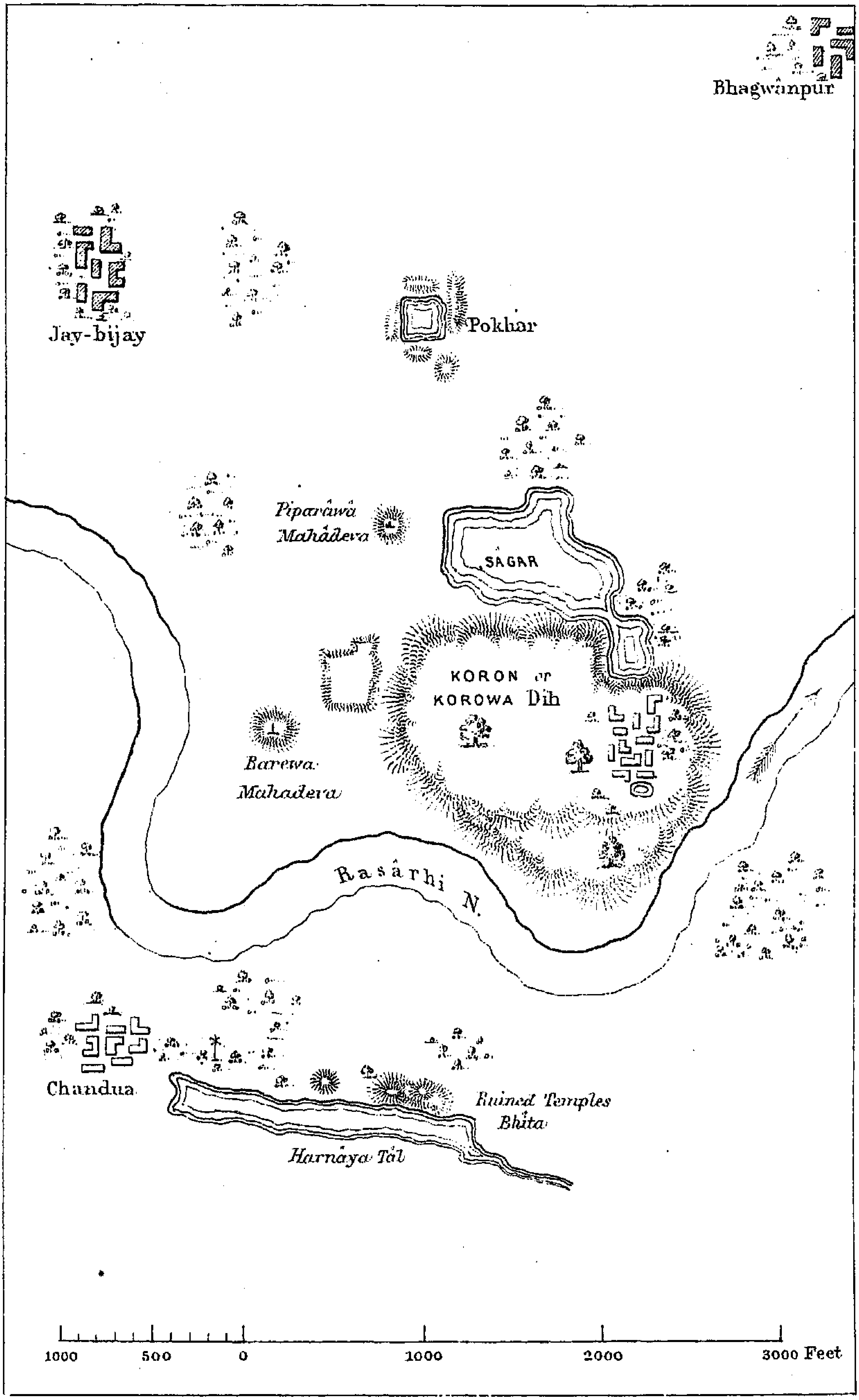

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